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Ambassador James Bryce and Secretary Knox Signing the Anglo-American Arbitration Treaties on August 3, 1911.

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The Peace Movement of America

By

Julius Moritzen

With an Introduction by James L. Tryon

With 64 Illustrations

G. P. Putnam's Sons
New York and London
The Knickerbocker Press
1912

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JULIUS MORITZEN

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To

WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

THESE PAGES ARE DEDICATED, WITH PROFOUND RESPECT, BY

THE AUTHOR

PREFACE

ALL great movements that mean to benefit the race require disinterested leadership and popular support. The peace movement is no exception. In the past, men and women with noble purpose have worked inspiringly to the end that warfare may be abolished. In America—in the United States, in Canada, and the Latin-American republics—there never was a time when international harmony appeared to signify more to the welfare of the world than it does to-day. In Europe and in the Far East, the peace movement is advancing more slowly, yet no less irresistibly than in the western hemisphere.

A book dealing with the peace movement in America must of necessity be somewhat fragmentary. Where so many swiftly changing factors enter into the international scheme for amity, not too much can be expected from the marshalling of data considerable of which is so recent as to preclude it from being historic. At the same time, the very freshness of the American peace movement, its spontaneity—with ranks augmented and strengthened leadership—would seem to call for consideration.

In the present instance, the aim has been to lift the subject of international good-will from out of the mass of detail that encompasses the American peace movement to where, from some vantage-point, the reader may survey the great work accomplished during the

last few years. No history-writing has been attempted. Rather it has been the purpose to bring to the fore incidents that, in the opinion of the writer, carried sufficient picturesqueness to claim attention. Such an incident was the coming to the United States of Baron d'Estournelles de Constant whose three months' tour in the interest of internationalism set a new mark in peace propagandism. Scarcely less important was the campaign of Count Albert Apponyi, of Hungary, and of the Baroness Bertha von Suttner of Vienna. Curiously enough, it remained for Europeans to bring home to Americans the great opportunity that confronts this nation in the leadership toward international peace.

If in the following pages much is made of the American tour of the French parliamentarian, it is justified by the fact that Baron d'Estournelles succeeded in infusing an element of uniqueness into his addresses before universities, chambers of commerce, and kindred organisations. In some localities, his appearance was the signal for a general peace awakening. It is not claimed that this and similar campaigns were all-essential in the premises, but the fact cannot be overlooked that from the standpoint of journalistic interest these campaigns were news-compelling. When the story of the peace movement becomes history, the work accomplished by societies, individuals—in America or abroad—will take special account of the period which saw a remarkable interchange of prominent personalities who brought the message of world-harmony across the two oceans. The writer can only regret that it has been impossible to include within the covers of one book the activities of all those who have written their names in large letters across the peace horizon. Whatever the omissions, they must not be charged to ignorance of facts. It is only

to be hoped that, however great may be the shortcomings of this work, it will yet somewhat help to show how immense has been the labour, and how promising is the reward in sight because American men and women are now striving so earnestly to keep all the world in peace and plenty.

J. M.

Boston, June 22, 1912.

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INTRODUCTION

IN a form worthy of the greatest cause in the world to-day, the peace movement in America is now being organised and will be carried forward in a manner heretofore impossible. The American Peace Society, by the adoption of a new constitution at Washington on May 10, 1912, has become, through its directorate, a National Peace Council. The society may properly be called a national federation for peace. Besides extending its state society system throughout the Union, it has invited to its directorate, not only representatives of local peace societies, but representatives of The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, The World Peace Foundation, The Mohonk Arbitration Conference, The American Association for International Conciliation, The American Society for Judicial Settlement of International Disputes, and The American School Peace League. Other large peace organisations, whether formed on a membership plan or operated as institutions, are also to be included in its comprehensive plan of reorganisation. When an arbitration treaty or kindred matter comes before the Senate or Congress, the peace and arbitration sentiment of the whole country can be brought to bear with an effect as never before. Education of public sentiment in the new internationalism will go on with less waste and duplication than formerly, because the reorganised society will serve the purpose of a common bureau of information.

Now that the peace movement is becoming better organised, it should be brought within the fuller comprehension of the masses. It must include not only the intellectuals, the college professors, and the technical international lawyers, but the man in the street. It must pervade not only the schools and colleges, but the mills and shops, and the same process must be repeated in all lands. When the man in the street knows as much about the use of mediation, the international commission of inquiry, and arbitration courts as the man in the foreign office; when by his intelligent vote he can support the propositions of progressive international statesmen or defeat the reactionary measures of their opponents, the cause of international fraternity, justice, and peace will prevail.

Full advantage should be taken of two coming events to educate the public mind in the new internationalism. Both of these will probably occur in the year 1915. One of these events is the proposed celebration of the hundred years of peace among the English-speaking peoples, arrangements for which are in the hands of committees in the United States, Canada, and Great Britain, and will soon have the assistance of governmental commissions. The story of the long peace is filled with incidents in which far-sighted statesmen have repeatedly faced war situations, and by sensible diplomacy turned them into conditions of friendship. Through this celebration and the possibilities of making it pictorial and dramatic, people everywhere will be taught by concrete examples the principles of international fraternity and peace. The other event is the Third Hague Conference. This will once more bring the governments of the whole world together. Diplomatists, lawyers, military and naval experts—men who

are the elect in their professions from all countries—will deliberate on the foremost subjects—war and peace, and will carry the movement farther forward by codifying its principles as international law. Preceded by work of a Programme Committee, whose labours will begin two years in advance, the Conference will be the latest expression of public opinion on the rights and duties of nations.

The fact that preparations for this Conference will soon begin should have universal publicity. People everywhere should be made familiar with all the principles that are to be discussed at The Hague in 1915. They should be shown to what extent the Hague peace system, when applied, has been successful, and how it may be improved in order to accomplish its desired end.

To have lasting force and value, international law must be founded in an enlightened public conscience. To form this conscience is the first duty of American men and women of the time. The story of the efforts of some of those who are engaged in this high mission is told in the pages that follow.

JAMES L. TRYON.

The Peace Movement of America

The Peace Movement of America

CHAPTER I

ON THE TRAIL OF MARS

America Asserts Itself in Earnest to Bring about Peace among the Nations—The Signing of the Arbitration Treaties—The Ratification by the Senate and the Effect of the Change in the Form of the Pacts—August the Third, 1911, Marks a Turning-point in World Militancy—President Taft Determined that there Shall Be No Going Back—Events That Shaped the Course of the United States, Great Britain, and France—Baron d'Estournelles de Constant Arrives to Talk International Conciliation—What the Pan-American Union Is Doing to Foster Friendship in the Western Hemisphere—Count Albert Apponyi, of Hungary, and His American Mission—Peace Organisations at the National Capital.

ON the afternoon of Tuesday, August 3, 1911, an event of great importance to the future peaceable relations of the leading nations of the world took place at Washington. Of course it is by this time history how the general arbitration treaties, signed on that day by the United States with the governments of Great Britain and France, were shorn of their erstwhile intent when ratified by the Senate in a form of doubtful value. Subsequently, the great national issues before the American people during a Presidential year to follow,

further had the effect of turning attention momentarily from the international questions that the arbitration treaties meant to answer. And yet, whatever may seem to be the effect of the action of the Senate; whatever other alignments may be suggested by parliamentarians and others interested in the maintenance of good understanding between nations, there is little doubt that, when the three countries concerned on that August day strove to make war less a possibility than before, a turning-point in the militancy of the world had been reached. And further than this, the unceasing labours of peace organisations and individuals, of statesmen, financiers, clergymen, of workers in factory and field, were somewhat rewarded because of the indisputable evidence that all that stood between the horrors of war and the blessings of peace was ignorance of the real facts—an ignorance which the earnest, persistent work of the movement had not yet been able to eradicate fully.

When President Taft was informed that the general arbitration treaties, which were his handiwork, had been mutilated in the Senate, he said laconically: "We must begin all over again." This short sentence, however, inferred not that the President acknowledged defeat. The meaning of the Chief Executive was clear to those who knew how much he had the treaties at heart. It was a clarion call that, however much had been accomplished in the past, there was much more to be done in the future. The twelve months preceding the ratification of the treaties had witnessed an unprecedented activity among the advocates of peace. The year that has passed since the events of August, 1911, is living testimony to the fact that the peace movement is more virile to-day than at any time since men and

women first began to think it possible to substitute judicial settlement for war in international disputes.

Looking back over the events that lent themselves to an increased interest in international arbitration in America—for not only the United States, but the entire western continent, responded to the awakened public conscience that war had become antiquated—certain facts stand forth so conspicuously that they must be credited with an importance measured by their effect in general. With Washington so greatly concerned, it might be expected that in the national capital the work of the internationalists would find highest appreciation. The course of events has proved that not only the Government, but the residents of Washington generally, have given strong aid to the world movement. There is no more logical point from which to view the work of those who, giving of their time and means, are enlisting for the purpose of prosecuting an unrelenting war upon war. From such a vantage-ground as the historic Potomac offers, a casual glance at what the peace movement is bringing forth, East and West, North and South, should help in bringing home how the efforts everywhere are crystallising into a concrete whole.

Among the leading events which focused the attention of Washington during the early months of 1911 must be classed the appearance upon the American arbitration scene of Baron d'Estournelles de Constant. Senator of France, Nobel prize winner, permanent delegate to The Hague court, Baron d'Estournelles drew to the Hall of the Americas, the Pan-American Building, on the afternoon of March 15th, as cosmopolitan a company as any world capital could have mustered. It is quite true that the French parliamentarian had been in the

United States before, but in the present instance his coming had the ring of decided novelty. For no sooner had President Taft sounded Great Britain regarding an unlimited arbitration treaty before conditions below the Rio Grande asked the attention of the American public and the administration. From the standpoint of war and peace, nothing less than an anachronistic situation had been created.

It was, perhaps, because of the paradox with which the nation was confronted that diplomatists and other Washington officials were so anxious to hear what Baron d'Estournelles had to offer out of his long experience as statesman and conciliation worker. Not for years had Americans or foreign representatives at the national capital been in more receptive moods regarding the doctrines of those consecrated to the service of peace. The Mexican situation might contradict in practice what these workers were advancing in theory. Still, so much more the reason why the public was willing to be informed as to the feasibility of arbitration among the nations. The labours of Baron d'Estournelles in behalf of international good fellowship were as well known in this country as abroad. It was reasonable to expect that he could speak with authority based on long experience. And because deep down in its heart the world wants universal peace so distinguished an audience was in waiting in the Hall of the Americas when the Senator from France arose to address the assemblage within the splendid home dedicated to amity among the nations of the western continent.

There was one other reason why official Washington had met in force to greet the foreign visitor. Baron d'Estournelles had come to the United States specific-

ally for the purpose of making a tour of the country. He was to discuss his favourite subject, conciliation. The itinerary called for a stay of three months, with visits to leading educational, commercial, and agricultural centres. He would have to travel more than 20,000 miles in order to carry out his programme. From the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Canadian North to the Mexican border, the observant Frenchman would apply the critical lens to discover for himself to what degree the people of the nation were willing to help along the cause of international arbitration. It would be the first tour of its kind in the history of the country. Since Washington, in a measure, was the starting-point, there was good reason why so many in the capital were anxious to hear what Baron d'Estournelles would have to say at the beginning of what proved to be an eventful journey

Of those who on that day listened to Baron d'Estournelles's address, only a few could have guessed that the tour would prove epochal. Of peace gatherings and peace speeches there have been many within recent times. But in the case of this French visitor, his method of approach and appeal was so unique that, as he travelled through the various States, his appearance alone proved a novelty; the effect upon his audiences, an awakening. The campaign, which lasted from the middle of March to the first week in June, was an unqualified success because from start to finish the individuality of the speaker, his profound earnestness, hand in hand as these went with humour and optimism at their best, were the kind of international assets that counted in the result.

It fell to John Barrett, Director-General of the Pan-American Union, to introduce the visitor to Wash-

ington. Dr. James Brown Scott, then of the State Department, and now secretary of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, was the chairman on the occasion. As a fellow-delegate of Baron d'Estournelles to The Hague, Dr. Scott was well equipped for his task. Many distinguished men were on the platform with the noted Frenchman. In view of subsequent events, it is interesting to recall that among them was the then Ambassador from Mexico, Señor de la Barra.

Referring to Japan and the Mexican situation, Baron d'Estournelles said that when he arrived in New York, a few days before his coming to Washington, he was told that he had chosen the worst time for talking peace, since the whole country was thinking war.

I knew then [Baron d'Estournelles confided to his attentive audience] that misconception was running wild; and I further realised that, far from coming at a wrong moment, no more auspicious hour than the present could have been selected for the arbitration campaign. I refuse to accept the alarming views of pessimists regarding Mexican affairs. I have good reason not to follow them, reasons dictated to me by my professional diplomatic knowledge of the last twelve years; since I was a member of the First Hague Conference. I have been the witness of the constant efforts of the United States Government to promote, to support, and to initiate the policy of conciliation, justice, and peace which I am advocating for my country and the others. In its efforts, the United States has been supported faithfully and strongly by American public opinion. The official conciliatory policy of the Government has been the national policy of the country, approved by the people; in fact, the policy of the New World.

It was the United States Government [he continued] that first asked, in 1902, for the application of The Hague convention, and to accept its judgment and award in the

matter of the Pius fund of California, and it was the Mexican government that joined the United States in this good example. During nearly ten years that have followed, the American government has given new proof each year of its determined devotion to our new policy of international justice and good-will. I could enumerate all that the United States did for the convocation of the Second Hague Conference and for the success of the cause of arbitration. It is already quite a tradition, quite a glorious history of American action. These are facts which speak more than words, and which are amply sufficient to justify, notwithstanding surprises and inevitable storms of life, my firm and increasing confidence in the final triumph of right over violence.

Referring to the conciliatory work among the American nations, Baron d'Estournelles declared that not only had the propaganda been successful among the Pan-American republics, but that at The Hague Conference there was such a division of sentiment among the Powers over compulsory arbitration that no majority would have been possible and no result achieved had it not been for the support of the Pan-American Union.

Of the influence upon Pan-American peace and goodwill of former Secretary Root's visit to South America a few years ago, the Baron said:

I must confess that this journey, this exceptional campaign, was to me a revelation. As a diplomatist, I never had supposed that a minister for foreign affairs could act as an apostle. It was altogether a good sound political work, wisely, calmly executed. It was a most striking demonstration of human fraternity.

Baron d'Estournelles, from his Paris home later, must have followed with interest the tour of Secretary of State Knox when this uncompromising arbitration

advocate visited the Central American republics a year after the Frenchman spoke admiringly about Senator Root's visit to South America. When Secretary Knox arrived at Panama City and there defined the policy of the United States as regards the sister republics to the south, the cabinet officer added a new chapter to the international history of the nation.

As for the American people and the governments of the republics visited by Secretary Knox, all realised that President Taft's special ambassador for the occasion, both at Panama City, and the other Central American capitals, spoke words that would stand as safeguards against any influence derogatory to all-American independence. Secretary Knox defined the Monroe Doctrine in an exceptionally lucid manner and he summed up the situation fully when he said:

> It is a paradox that the severance of the physical ligament that joins the two continents of the New World will more closely unite them. Culebra is the clot in the artery of intercourse whose removal will give free and full circulation throughout the whole organism to the vivifying currents of friendship, peace, commerce, and prosperity.

To grasp properly the significance of the American peace movement at present, it is essential to glance first at what has been accomplished in Washington. There are a number of circumstances to be taken into consideration. Almost at the identical hour when the French statesman arrived in New York, Count Albert Apponyi, of Hungary, left the United States for home. The Hungarian peace advocate, no less of an international figure than his fellow-worker of France, had been in the country on a short campaign under the auspices of the New York

Peace Society and the Civic Forum. Count Apponyi's methods differ somewhat from Baron d'Estournelles's. Equally effective as a speaker, he employs arguments that show what are the parliamentary difficulties in the way for unlimited arbitration and disarmament. But it was entirely fitting that when he reached Washington, Count Apponyi should be asked to address the House of Representatives. He embraced the opportunity to tell the members of the House that, as a representative of the Old World, as he put it, he brought a message of greeting to the representatives of the New World.

The scene within the Capitol was the more unique because himself a former speaker of the Hungarian House of Representatives, Count Apponyi addressed the American Congress from the Speaker's rostrum. He left a strong impression when, in closing his speech, he said that

> We of the Old World, desiring to come out of the devouring waste of the ancient spirit of animosity and distrust, appeal to you for assistance to do away with the hateful legacy of hatred and war and antagonism between men who ought to be brethren. This is the object of my mission to America. This is what I think the spirit of the Old World has to say to the spirit of the New World, and after having delivered you this message let me again thank you for the high honour which you have done to me. It appeals strongly to me personally and to my country in thus allowing me to address you here, and to enjoy the echo which these sentiments to which I give expression have found in this House, because it has found them in your hearts and in your minds.

Like Baron d'Estournelles, Count Apponyi has been the delegate of his country to The Hague. No European

statesman has worked more faithfully for the realisation of international arbitration than this Hungarian who at one time was Minister of Public Instruction. His coming to America at a time when the public's interest in the peace proposition was beginning to be aroused, was a happy preliminary to the arrival of his French fellow-worker three weeks later. As president of the Hungarian group of the Interparliamentary Union, Count Apponyi is a collaborator in the identical field with Baron d'Estournelles who is the president of the French group of this important international organisation.

Short as was his stay in Washington, it convinced the French parliamentarian that the national capital is striving with all its might to be acclaimed a headquarters for peace and conciliation. In Washington there was, perhaps, not the same need for him to present figures and facts as in other parts of the country. Arbitration has for some time been a favourite subject for discussion in official circles. The Pan-American Union ever since its inception has been before the public as an active peace agency. When the American republics recently bestowed on Andrew Carnegie a gold medal containing the words, "Benefactor of Humanity," and "The American Republics to Andrew Carnegie," it constituted an acknowledgment that the Union had passed the experimental stage and was now a factor in the all-inclusive development of the western continent; a factor for peace among these nations.

In Washington there is the American group of the Interparliamentary Union which has for its president Richard Bartholdt, member of Congress from Missouri. Several hundred Representatives and Senators are members of the Union. The American Society of

International Law is another Washington organisation with ramifications throughout the country and abroad. The American Society for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes, which originated in Baltimore, where Theodore Marburg, of that city, is its secretary, naturally finds a chief support in the national capital.

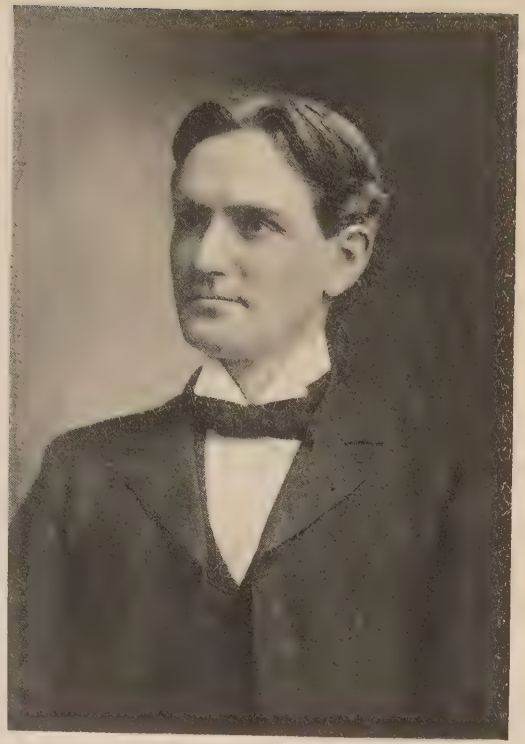
The American Peace Society is the latest acquisition to the peace organisations of the capital. It is the oldest society of its kind in America, however. Its removal from Boston was deemed advisable because Washington now, more than at any time, focalises the movement rapidly assuming concrete shape in the United States. The selection of Theodore E. Burton, Senator from Ohio, as the president of the American Peace Society, brings the society still closer the legislative branches of the government. Dr. Benjamin F. Trueblood has for many years been the secretary of the American Peace Society. Since the society's removal to Washington, a local branch has been organised with Assistant Secretary of Agriculture Willet M. Hays as president.

Shortly after the American Peace Society established its headquarters in the capital, far-reaching plans for bringing most of the peace societies of the country within one general policy matured. It was on the anniversary of Mr. Carnegie's princely gift of $10,000,000 in the furtherance of peace that the board of trustees of the fund met in Washington where it was explained how the endowment was expected to operate. As regards the American Peace Society, it was agreed that a federation should be formed of the existing societies, each society sending one representative to the annual meeting of the parent body, and one additional

delegate for each hundred members. By creating a unit, very naturally the peace forces would increase in strength.

At this meeting of the trustees of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace there were present: Robert S. Brookings, Thomas Burke, Nicholas Murray Butler, John L. Cadwalader, Joseph H. Choate, Cleveland H. Dodge, Arthur William Foster, Austen G. Fox, R. A. Franks, Samuel Mather, Andrew J. Montague, George W. Perkins, Elihu Root, J. G. Schmidlapp, James Brown Scott, James O. L. Slayden, Oscar S. Straus, Charles L. Taylor, Andrew D. White, John Sharp Williams, Robert S. Woodward, and Luke E. Wright. The board decided to divide the work into three divisions: one, the division of international law, to be in charge of Dr. Scott; the second division, of economics and history, to have Prof. John Bates Clark as director; and the third division, of intercourse and education, to have Dr. Butler for its head. Prof. John Bassett Moore was authorised to supervise the publication of all known arbitration treaties, and provisions were made for co-operating with the Institute of International Law and for the delivery of lectures at The Hague. It is the understanding that the future subvention of peace societies will be made under the supervision of the division of intercourse and education. There will be an advisory council composed of forty of the leading peace advocates of Europe.

The officers of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace are Elihu Root, president; Joseph H. Choate, vice-president; James Brown Scott, secretary; Walter M. Gilbert, treasurer. The following compose the executive committee: President Root, Secretary Scott, Nicholas Murray Butler, Austen G. Fox, Andrew



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Dr. James Brown Scott,
Secretary Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
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J. Montague, Henry S. Pritchett, and Charlemagne Tower. The finance committee consists of George W. Perkins, chairman; Robert A. Franks, and Samuel Mather.

When the American Association for International Conciliation arranged with Baron d'Estournelles for a three months' tour of the United States, the purpose was uppermost that not the peace societies as such, but the public at large should be appealed to through the agency of the French advocate of conciliation. Whether in New Orleans or in San Francisco, in Seattle or in New York, in whatever city Baron d'Estournelles expounded the principles that are the underlying forces of the movement, he addressed the people as American citizens confronted with great opportunities, as well as responsibilities. He seemed able at once to put his finger on the pulse-beats of the agricultural, commercial, industrial life of the nation. He explained how peace is the one factor making for prosperity; how war is the national and international trouble-maker. Conspicuous as the year 1911 as a whole looms in the annals of the peace cause in America, the campaign of Baron d'Estournelles undoubtedly sounded a bugle call. It brought to the front not only the seasoned veterans within the ranks of the peace army, but helped in organising new contingents, willing and well prepared for entering the service.

There is little doubt that whatever has been accomplished for the peace cause in the United States, most of the credit is due the regular organisations that, in fair weather and foul, clung to ideals which not so many years ago were considered mere flights of fancy. When the American Peace Society was first organised, it is true, idealists guided the ship of peace along a course

beset by many obstacles; a course the more perilous because of the general ignorance that existed regarding the subject. In the many cities visited by Baron d'Estournelles, he had occasion to learn how solid is the connection of the older society with its branches. In the case of Chicago as in the case of the Pacific coast and New England, field representatives not only care for their respective localities, but carry the message of good-will into virgin territory. The educative campaign of the American Peace Society, The World's Peace Foundation, the American Association for International Conciliation, and the other societies devoted to the cause, has resulted in bringing into the movement the matter-of-fact workers of the land as well as those who approach the subject of arbitration from the standpoint of international law and intellectuality. Baron d'Estournelles learned above all things that in America the practical man and the idealist have now joined issues for the purpose of gaining further national prosperity through closer ties with other nations.

Before following Baron d'Estournelles on his tour of the country, it may be pertinent to inquire in what respect this arbitration expert stands so conspicuously before the world. There must have been excellent reasons for the Americans interested in the cause to have requested him to visit this country. It was no ordinary thing to ask the people of the nation that they attend the meetings and listen to the addresses delivered by the French visitor to the United States. His qualifications must have been of a kind to warrant results.

As a matter of fact, Baron d'Estournelles de Constant is not only one of the most interesting and intellectual of present-day Frenchmen; not only has he done for France what few statesmen in any land have accom-

plished, but he is an international figure honoured because of the fact that he exemplifies an internationalism which has resulted in bringing about a better understanding between the French and nations not heretofore easily convinced that the countrymen of Napoleon have ceased to dream Napoleonic dreams. As an illustration of the esteem in which Baron d'Estournelles is held everywhere, it is only necessary to look at what occurred in the French Senate shortly before his departure for America.

The occasion was the presentation of a gold medal to Baron d'Estournelles in recognition of the fact that in the bestowal of the Nobel Peace Prize upon him in 1909, France felt itself honoured likewise. Senator Menier, on behalf of his associates in the French Senate, expressed the high esteem all felt for the recipient of the coveted prize. But the importance of the incident in the French Senate Chamber goes much beyond what any national admiration for the Baron could convey. For parliamentarians everywhere had a hand in the presentation of the medal which bears on one side the portrait of the distinguished arbitration worker, and on the other shows the figure of a man striving to push a waggon up a hilly road. The characterisation here fits Baron d'Estournelles exactly. He is never so much at home as when an international wheel is stuck in a rut, and needs a brave shoulder to help it to escape from some uncomfortable position.

The occurrence in question, demonstrating as it does the position of Baron d'Estournelles in France previous to his departure for the United States, is but one of many during the busy and eventful career of the Senator from the department of Sarthe. Another instance bearing on his work, and illustrating how he is

appreciated by the French people, was the banquet tendered him shortly after he was awarded the Nobel prize. The Federation of the Republican Committees of La Flèche had the affair in charge. More than 600 representative Frenchmen sat down at tables. But while the speakers paid numerous compliments to the guest of honour, the reply of Baron d'Estournelles concerned the outside world as directly as it did his hosts. For he emphasised once more what remained to be done before arbitration workers can consider their mission at an end. He explained how he had survived ridicule, how opponents had been turned into friends, how the peace cause was now advancing by leaps and bounds; he also affirmed that the campaign was just beginning, since it was no longer a question of work within the nation, but among all the nations.

This was one of the reasons why Baron d'Estournelles came to the United States; why one year after the festivities in his native land he found himself in the western world ready to grapple with the international problem of universal peace. As has been said, no such journey had ever been undertaken before. True, the peace pilgrimage of the late William T. Stead among the crowned heads of Europe, more than thirteen years before Baron d'Estournelles's advent in America, also constituted a unique tour with a view toward international conciliation by one unique in contemporary journalism and unafraid. The editor of the English *Review of Reviews*, however, was bent on a work which required a different method in handling. As told in his *The United States of Europe*, Mr. Stead's interviews with royalty implied primarily that a decade or so ago the issue of war and peace rested with monarchs and chancellors. If the international

peace movement has accomplished nothing more, it has done much to disprove that this is the case to-day when the peoples everywhere alone can make such decisions. Of course, the European journey of the dauntless British journalist, coming as it did on the eve of the peace parliament called together at the instance of Nicholas II., was enough of an unusual enterprise to be looked upon as epochal in the history of nations.

A year following Baron d'Estournelles's American tour in the interest of conciliation, Mr. Stead left his home country, bound for the United States. The sinking of the *Titanic* brought to a close the career of the famous English editor. Had it been otherwise, had the maritime colossus reached its American port in safety, there would have been added to William T. Stead's arbitration labours a new chapter replete with meaning to the peace of the whole world. As it was, there appeared on the platform of Carnegie Hall, New York, Sunday evening, April 21, another Briton, who, taking the place assigned to Mr. Stead as a speaker before the men and religion movement gathering, in a masterful eulogy on his co-labourer in the domain of good-will, summed up the latter's life-work in the international vineyard. That no man living was better qualified for this task than James A. Macdonald, managing editor of the *Toronto Globe*, goes without saying. On this side of the Atlantic, as Mr. Stead had done on the other, Mr. Macdonald has been a stronghold for co-operation among all English-speaking peoples to establish world-harmony.

Placing emphasis on the fact that Mr. Stead was coming to America in an hour when the eyes of the world were centred on the nation which had extended

the hand of lasting fraternity to Great Britain and France, Mr. Macdonald said:

Mr. Stead was one of my best friends in British journalism. Our paths crossed many times. We joined hands in more than one struggle for peace. His word was ever for national honour and international good-will. In June last, my last day in London was spent in his home. The burden of his heart was the problem of enlisting the press of Britain and America in a resolute fight against the war syndicates that everywhere menace the peace of the world. Most of all did he long for the Anglo-American arbitration treaty, and he did his share in securing for it the support of British statesmen and of British public opinion. His last word when I saw him the last time was: "Remember the English-speaking fraternity, and that in it Canada holds the key-position."

William T. Stead looked forward to this hour. In his heart there burned a message to this congress of the men and religion movement. It was his hope that from this place a line of power would go out into all the world. He was ordained a prophet of universal peace. For it and for its sake he faced the powers and potentates, he pleaded with kings and czars and emperors, he wrought with prime ministers and presidents and secretaries, he fought with the beasts of hate and greed in every Ephesus of the world, and for half a lifetime he endured the fierce contradiction of the fire-eating jingoes of every land. For peace he was ever a fighter.

The list is long and increasing of those who in all lands are now gathering under the standard of internationalism. One of the best commentaries on the difference in public opinion, between the present and what obtained a decade ago, is the Peace Commission authorised by the Congress of the United States, and

which is to investigate the ground preliminary to the holding of the Third Hague Conference, some years hence. This is something which would never have been placed at the service of the cause but for the persistent efforts of Americans and foreigners who have been clear-visioned enough to see the proper course ahead. That France also became a party to the arbitration negotiations with the United States is another commentary on a condition as far above what prevailed in Europe ten years ago as that the world itself has advanced with giant strides toward the realisation of unlimited arbitration.

In respect to the American Society for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes, its aim is the establishment at The Hague of a Court of Arbitral Justice, such as was recommended by The Hague Conference of 1907. It was at the dinner of this society, during the conference in Washington in December of 1910, that President Taft made the famous speech in which he declared that in his estimation the time had arrived when even questions of national honour could be settled through arbitration instead of by war.

It is undoubtedly a fact that the conference at which President Taft committed himself so unreservedly regarding unlimited arbitration had much to do with the subsequent attitude of Great Britain and France in meeting the international wishes of the American Government. The Hall of the Americas in Washington never held a more conspicuous company of men than when noted jurists and internationalists met there for the purpose of discussing how the American Society for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes could best further world peace.

As for distinguished gatherings in the Pan-American

Union, it was on the evening of December 14, 1911, that President Taft, before the diplomatic representatives of sixteen leading nations and official Washington, made clear what the administration meant to accomplish with an unlimited arbitration treaty. S. Shimada, a member of the Japanese Parliament, preceded the President with an admirable address in which he made the unexpected announcement that his mission to the United States was to ascertain to what extent the American nation was prepared to include Japan in the unlimited arbitration pact. Mr. Shimada did not conceal that his country was then anxiously awaiting the outcome of the treaties pending with Great Britain and France. He averred that nothing would prevent his country from joining with the United States in an arbitration pact that would put jingoism out of business.

Referring to the speech of the Japanese parliamentarian, President Taft said in reply:

You have just listened to a most interesting speech recounting the number of reasons why Japan and the United States ought to be and are united in bonds of amity. We heard from the distinguished gentleman who represents Japan the statement of his ambition that the day was not distant when Japan should be united with the other nations in such a peace obligation as that we are now trying to make complete between England and the United States on the one hand, and France and the United States on the other.

I ask you whether we ought to defeat his ambition and the ambition of the people whom he represents by saying that there is some constitutional objection to the perfection of these treaties. Are we going to take the flavour out of this movement that now seems to have an impetus, which will be world wide, because there is some quirk in the construction of the powers of one of the legislative branches

Governing Board of Pan-American Union.

From left to right, standing: Francisco Yanes, Assistant Director; Eduardo Suarez Mujica, Chile; Dr. Salvador Castrillo, Nicaragua; Romulo S. Naon, Argentina; Dr. C. M. Pena, Uruguay; Antonio M. Rivero, Cuba; Manuel De Freyre y Santander, Peru; Juan Brin, Panama, and John Barrett, director. From left to right, sitting: Emilio C. Joubert, Santo Domingo; Federico Mejia, Salvador; Joaquin Bernardo Calvo, Costa Rica; Domicio Da Gama, Brazil; Secretary Knox; Gilberto Crespo, Mexico; Ignacio Calderon, Bolivia; P. Ezequiel Rojas, Venezuela.

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of this government? Those of us who are gathered here, I am sure, are not wild enthusiasts in respect to this movement and do not hope for something that never can come about. I think we are practical people. We don't expect that war is going to be abolished to-morrow morning. We know that movements of this sort must progress slowly. But on the other hand, we ought to have foresight and intelligence enough to recognise a real step of progress when it is taken. We will never dispose of the movement toward armament and toward increasing armament until we satisfy the nations who are carrying on this movement merely for self-defence and for the protection of their integrity that there is some other means upon which they can rely for the settlement of international controversies. When they find that means and can certainly rely on it, then they will give up armament. It is not with pleasure that they are pursuing the policy of appropriating $200,000,000 or $300,000,000 or $500,000,000 a year in order that their armament may increase.

President Taft concluded by saying that ultimately there would come the arbitral court and that public opinion, or if necessary, an international police force, would see to it that when nations agreed to arbitrate a given difference they would do so.

With the President of the United States leading in the campaign for peace education in America, Washington is fortunate besides in having Philander P. Claxton, United States Commissioner of Education, take a hand by asking that the schools co-operate to the utmost of their ability. It was at a mass-meeting of the Washington Peace Society that Commissioner Claxton advocated the erection of a great American university with a yearly income of $10,000,000, out of the funds now being expended upon militarism. He declared that the new era of industrialism is awakening a broader

understanding of nations. Industrialism and universal education, were they given free course, he said, would demand international peace. With the money now spent on the army and navy, it would be possible to build this great university with a yearly income of $10,000,000; to provide an additional university in each State; twenty-five high schools for each State; five normal schools for each State; five technical schools for each State; twenty agricultural schools for each State, and an additional income of $1,000,000 for the public school funds, averred the Commissioner of Education.

Other speakers at the Washington Peace Society meeting, held in the First Congregational Church, were Thomas Nelson Page, Dr. William Davidson, Superintendent of Public Schools; John Barrett, Director-General of the Pan-American Union; O. P. Austin, Chief of the Bureau of Statistics; William Knowles Cooper, General Secretary of the Y. M. C. A.; Dr. Benjamin F. Trueblood, Secretary of the American Peace Society; and Rev. Dr. Samuel H. Woodrow, pastor of the First Congregational Church. Willet M. Hays, President of the Washington Peace Society, presided.

As at no other time in the history of the national capital, interest in the peace movement is gathering force and momentum. In Washington the importance of international arbitration has been carried home with effect. It may be agreed that at the seat of government the details of the treaty negotiations were understood better than in some other parts of the country. At the same time, when Baron d'Estournelles made his appearance in the capital, he invested the international atmosphere with something that had not previously been in evidence. The peace propaganda, in fact, found itself launched upon a more picturesque career

when the French statesman made the city his starting-point for a journey of national significance. When President Taft, some months afterward, went over the identical route that had witnessed the interesting advent of Baron d'Estournelles, the Chief Executive of the United States found his task somewhat facilitated because the French diplomatist had in a measure paved the way. Speaking in many instances to the same audiences that had listened to the Senator from France, President Taft discovered for himself how vitally the arbitration treaties with Great Britain and France concerned the average American citizen.

A Washington woman, Mrs. Harriett Chalmers Adams, well-known as explorer and writer, has contributed considerable to the *entente* that exists between the Latin-American republics and the United States. Mrs. Adams has gone into parts of South America where few had ventured before her, and she has been able to not only gain the friendship of Latin Americans but she has been exceptionably successful in bringing the commercial chances there before American business men.

CHAPTER II

PEACE CAMPAIGNING IN THE SOUTH

Movement in Southern States of more Recent Growth—Tulane University Long a Centre for Arbitration Work—Its Law School an Exceptional Training Ground for Internationalists—What George Washington Said and Did to Foster Peace at Home and Abroad—A Frenchman among Franco-Americans—The New Union between France and the United States—Prof. Frank Jewett Mather, Jr. on "Do the Arts Make for Peace?"—Marcelin Guérin's References to the Effect of Quietude and Contentment—The Work of Prof. Philip Van Ness Myers in the Southern States—Another Evidence of the Broadness of the World Peace Foundation.

WITH the entrance of the Georgia Peace Society on the Southern horizon the peace movement in that region of the American commonwealths takes on new life. The societies earlier on the ground were the Virginia League for International Peace, the North Carolina Peace Society, and the Texas State Peace Society. The latter organisation in particular has done yeoman service for the cause. On the whole, when the sponsors for Baron d'Estournelles' tour selected the South as a camping ground for effective work they reckoned understandingly. Southerns have been represented at the various peace congresses and conferences rather as individuals than as representatives for organisations.

Tulane University, New Orleans, and the University of Texas, at Austin, centred the attention of Baron

d'Estournelles in the South. There is little doubt that both of these educational institutions were well suited for carrying on the propaganda doctrine that the French statesman brought with him. As it was, the whole Southland accepted of his unique entrance as something concerning it directly. The novel journey prompted not only the press of Texas and Louisiana to give full accounts of the lectures in the university centres; the newspapers throughout the South seized upon the arrival of the French Nobel prize winner as an exceptional opportunity for presenting their readers with material out of the ordinary.

Before coming to New Orleans, Baron d'Estournelles paid a visit to Baltimore. Here he was the guest of Theodore Marburg, the secretary of the Third National Peace Congress. Mr. Marburg, who is also secretary of the American Society for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes, and president of the Maryland Peace Society, is, unquestionably, one of the most energetic peace workers in the country. Baron d'Estournelles' visit concerned a dinner given in his honour by Mr. Marburg.

It would be doing the peace workers in the South an injustice not to make mention of the various forces which have educated Southerns to a better understanding of the science of arbitration. It is true that the peace fire of the South has been scattered, and that there has been lacking a certain initiative which, had it been in evidence earlier, unquestionably would have made the aim of the present easier of accomplishment. But in their own way, the people who experienced the hardships of internecine warfare as no others within the nation, have become gradually conscious that after all even the civil conflict might have been avoided if at

that period the principles underlying arbitration had been better understood. Tradition and locality both make for peace and good-will among Southerns in their attitude toward others in the land. When the war broke out, peace societies in the North had already accomplished much. But as it happened, the very men and women identified with the cause in the Northern States were also among the strongest supporters of the anti-slavery movement. As such, the New England champions for arbitration, for instance, could hardly expect to get sympathetic hearings in the South. The cleavage was too great, and whatever co-operation existed before the sixties, when the war began Southern interest in international peace disappeared.

In view of the work of the Virginia Peace and Arbitration League, the peace renaissance which has come to that State must find additional inspiration in the knowledge that the greatest Virginian of them all, George Washington, was throughout his entire career a lover of peace. It is true that he first proved himself great in war, but the fact remains that Washington above all else strove to make the nation peaceful in its intentions. Take his letter to Lafayette, in January, 1788, when he wrote:

> Would to God the harmony of nations were an object that lay nearest to the hearts of sovereigns, and that the incentives to peace of which commerce and facility of understanding each other are not the most inconsiderable, might be daily increased!

As Baron d'Estournelles travelled southward, as he became familiar with the South's renewed interest in peace, the words that Washington wrote to the Marquis

de Chastellux seemed to fit in particularly with his journey.

It is time for the age of knight-errantry and mad heroism to be at an end [wrote Washington]. Your young military men, who want to reap the harvest of laurels, do not care, I suppose, how many seeds of war are sown; but for the sake of humanity it is devoutly to be wished that the manly employment of agriculture and the humanising benefits of commerce would supersede the waste of war and the rage of conquest; that the swords might be turned into ploughshares, the spears into pruning hooks, and, as the Scriptures express it, "the nations learn war no more."

Patriotic Americans, whether affiliated with peace organisations or not, will search in vain for any document in which George Washington gives war the preference of peace. With the first of all Americans—this friend of France and military genius—ready to surrender in favour of conciliation, it is not to be wondered that Baron d'Estournelles considered it of great importance to visit New Orleans early during his arbitration campaign. His three days in the Creole State convinced him that the South is more than willing to take up the work where the first President of the Republic left it for the nation to profit by his example.

The citizens of New Orleans must be aware that no section of the United States is better qualified to demonstrate the advantages of international conciliation than the municipality situated on the Gulf of Mexico. New Orleans is sure to assume a much more conspicuous position in the future than it has occupied in the past. The completion of the Panama Canal will mean unlimited opportunities to one of the most southern commercial ports in the country. Already the city

is taking account of what may be expected of it as a harbour prepared to accommodate increased shipping.

At the Athenæum, Tulane University, on Founders' Day, Baron d'Estournelles told the assembled students and faculty how New Orleans was attracting the attention of the commercial and political world by reason of the city's proximity to the Canal, and how trade was bound to flow her way on the completion of the isthmian watercourse. President Edwin B. Craighead, of Tulane, presided at the exercises which found the French visitor the chief guest of honour. The important institution of learning in Louisiana never held a more distinguished audience than when President Craighead introduced the foreign peace messenger as follows:

"It is with a double delight that I present to you the orator of the day, because he is distinguished by his own achievements and also because he comes from a land long bound to our own by the tenderest ties of friendship. To France and her people America owes an eternal debt of gratitude. As long as this republic endures, patriots alike in France and America will link together the splendid, the immortal names of Washington and Lafayette.

But great as was the service of Lafayette and other noble sons of France, who risked life and fortune for the American cause, a still larger and more enduring contribution to that cause was made not by the soldiers, but by the sages, of France. Back of Lafayette and Washington, back of Jefferson and Franklin and the founders of the republic, stood the great French thinkers and writers, who with divine swords of reason fought for the rights not only of their own countrymen, but also of Americans and of all mankind. In the arsenals of Reason, not of War, were forged the mightier weapons, wielded by patriots both of the French and the American revolution. In the brains of the philosophers of France were hammered out for all time

and all generations of men the fundamental doctrines of democracy—yea, even the monumental phrases enshrined in our own immortal Declaration of Independence. All just governments derive their power from the consent of the governed. All men are created with equal rights; all men have the inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

As Baron d'Estournelles prepared to reply to the fitting introduction by President Craighead he realised that he was at the beginning of a great task,—to individualise and localise, as it were, his address so that he could give to each State and each university centre that which should appeal directly to the community regarding the necessity for peace among the nations.

I come to commemorate the union of men and nations in the past [Baron d'Estournelles began]. The twentieth century will be largely the century of the association of nations. Let us declare peace to the world. The United States is the living triumph of the union of men against ignorance and violence. First came here our ancestors, Champlain, Marquette, La Salle, and many others from the old world. They discovered and founded your country. Then came another generation to help you to conquer and gain your liberty from Great Britain. The names of our Lafayette and Rochambeau are inseparable from that of your Washington. After them came another generation to help you in making the best of your new country and in giving the best possible education to your children.

Here again you see the results of the union of France and the United States when you see the splendid university bearing the name of our countryman, Tulane. You see throughout your territory many names commemorating the Franco-American co-operation. But is the past co-operation sufficient? Is it enough for us to praise our ancestors' good work and enjoy the results? We have to continue it.

We have to found peace for the generations that are to come after us. This is our duty, as well as our practical interest.

The organisation for peace is no dream [Baron d'Estournelles continued]. It is an urgent necessity, chiefly so in a new country like America, where so much has been done but so much remains to be accomplished. You want an organisation for peace as much as we want it in Europe. For the execution of your great economic work you want all of your time, all of your money. Arbitration is more efficient than war. Conciliation is still better. Ask for conciliation. Public opinion and the universal conscience will be grateful to you for this service, and thus you will have amply repaid the help you received from the old world.

Baron d'Estournelles referred to the immensity of the Mississippi River and to what he termed the absence of water traffic. He wondered why it was not used more extensively. He spoke about the merchant marine and said that he had crossed the ocean on English, German, and French lines. When he was in the United States last, he told his Tulane audience, he wished to return to Europe on a boat of some American line but he was informed there was no such line.

Three serious international complications, which could have degenerated into war [Baron d'Estournelles concluded], have been settled by the Hague convention: The Dogger Bank affair; the Casablanca incident, and your old difficulties concerning the Newfoundland fisheries. This is only the beginning. Ask for more and the world will sustain you.

The importance of the speech by the French Senator may be appreciated better when it is understood that Tulane University is an exceptional institution among the many institutions for learning in the United States.

The selection of this Southern university by the committee responsible for Baron d'Estournelles' itinerary went to prove that there had been no guesswork in choosing cities and institutions where the subject of arbitration among nations would be likely to meet with a favourable acceptance. Founded in 1845 as the University of Louisiana, the name of the University was changed when in 1884 Paul Tulane donated a million dollars to the institution. With an enrolment of 3000 students, Tulane University has a law department celebrated throughout the country. Arbitration and law are handmaids, and with the principles of international conciliation explained, as Baron d'Estournelles was able to explain them, for the benefit of the students at Tulane, there is reason to believe that the audience learned much from the address which the French advocate of peace delivered in the Crescent City.

While in New Orleans, Baron d'Estournelles naturally met a number of the leading French families. In no other American city could this Frenchman be more at home. From the moment of his arrival, until his departure, he expressed himself conscious of an atmosphere due to traditions that have come down from the days when France considered Louisiana a valued colony. It is only necessary to read the letters that Baron d'Estournelles has contributed to *Le Temps*, of Paris, to become convinced that he continually associated and compared people and environments, with conditions that obtain in France to-day. He did not fail to notice during his short stay in New Orleans that while Jefferson brought to pass the acquisition of Louisiana, thereby doubling the then American domain, the period which found William Howard Taft in the presidential

chair held much which bound the French-Americans of the Southern city to the capital of France.

In New Orleans it is impossible to move about without being reminded that French culture was here sown in a soil exceptionally fertile. Could not Baron d'Estournelles reasonably have expected that if the influence of France still holds good in so many ways, New Orleans would be willing to listen attentively to what he had to tell regarding international conciliation and Franco-American amity?

It is as yet too early to measure the full import of Baron d'Estournelles' American tour; the effect of his visits to the great centres of population, to what degree the country will benefit by the propaganda embodied in his speeches. But the municipality bordering on the Gulf of Mexico must be aware that there a new chapter in American history is in the making. The political, agricultural, commercial life of the nation will find itself confronted by newer and greater opportunities and responsibilities. It will be for each city to make ready for eventualities. New Orleans may mean very much to itself and to the United States a quarter of a century hence.

New Orleans no doubt suffered disappointment because of its failure to get government sanction for a Panama Canal Exposition. There is hardly any doubt that the citizens worked strenuously to be able to show the country how they could manage a world's fair. When San Francisco carried off the coveted prize, the Southern city felt it had been slighted. But while on the surface it seemed as if New Orleans had lost a golden opportunity, it is not impossible that this apparent loss will turn out a gain. Expositions alone do not make cities, and by making ready to build solidly

for its commercial future, the Gulf port may demonstrate its value to the country and to the world traffic of the great Canal across the isthmus.

Subsequent to his address on "The New Internationalism," which formed the chief feature of the Tulane University Founders' Day celebration, Baron d'Estournelles spoke to the girl students of Newcomb College on "The Co-operation of France and the United States for the Advancement of Peace." The lecture was delivered in the French language and there were present besides the students the members of many French families. The speaker dwelt on the several ties that bind the two nations. In view of the fact that France had just then expressed its gratification because the country had been placed on the same basis with Great Britain in the arbitration proposals, Baron d'Estournelles was able to make a more direct appeal for co-operation. The news from Paris was that Jean Jaures, the leader of the Socialist party, had praised in the French parliament the move of the United States for unrestricted arbitration. The text of the proposed treaty was even then being studied closely by Deputies and Senators. France again recalled how Franklin had moved among her people; how he had appealed to their imagination as another Jean-Jacques; how the American counterpart of the French hero had risen by his own efforts to mingle on equal terms with the elect.

Newcomb College, affiliated with Tulane University, is an institution for women which has won fame in several directions. Its art department compares favourably with the most notable schools of the kind in the country. Newcomb pottery received a medal at the Paris Exposition in competition with the choicest pottery of Europe. The influence of France has been

considerable. Whether in the one or other of its departments, the college often draws upon French ideals for inspiration.

"Do the Arts Make for Peace?" Prof. Frank Jewett Mather, Jr., in an article written for the American Association for International Conciliation, both asks and answers this question. The visitor from France did not propound the query before the assemblage that he addressed at the New Orleans college for women. His domain concerns more matters economic and political. Baron d'Estournelles realised that in every avenue of human activity the relationship between daily tasks and national contentment was being put to the test. As for the development of art, a nation ill-at-ease could not well progress in that direction.

Prof. Mather makes clear that historically the preponderance of the artisan classes in Italy actually diminished the frequency and even more the duration and atrocity of warfare. Believing that the future of the peace movement rests largely with the artisans of the world, the Princeton University professor gives it as his opinion that the artist-artisan would have even greater incentives to be a peace lover than his associates in the merely mechanical trades. Prof. Mather admits that in the past the arts have often added to the splendour of war and supplied motives for conquest. But at the same time he says "that among the art-loving nations of the past the artist enjoyed amid wars an ambassadorial immunity." He quotes E. H. Blashfield, the well-known mural painter, to the effect that

Through the fourteenth century Italy was a battle-field, and yet Giotto and his painters, Giovanni Pisano and his sculptors, Arnolfo and his architects, went up and down the

President S. C. Mitchell,
University of South Carolina.
Photo by Rockwood, N. Y.

Prof. S. P. Brooks,
President Baylor University, Texas; President Texas Peace Society.
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battle-field unharmed, and entered through the breached walls of cities to paint allegorical pictures of the blessings of peace in the town halls.

In an exquisite portrayal of artistic-political life in medieval Italy André Maurel, the winner of the French Academy's Marcelin Guérin prize, has some passages that reveal the reason why his *Little Cities of Italy* was crowned by the Academicians. They read:

The century of Dante was simply the century preparatory to this epoch, which is to say that the fourteenth century was the century of heroism. The social conditions that permitted artists to live and flourish were not occasioned by mere chance. Such fruits are ripened slowly under the sun of generations. This madness for the beautiful, this craze for art, this exasperation in the peaceful contest, was, and could only be, the outcome of concentrated energy. This ardour, this fire of enthusiasm, assumed a martial form in taking possession of the fathers of the Quattro-centists—middle-class citizens and artists. War having been suppressed, or having become the affair of mercenaries, in which the citizens no longer took part, they fought with frescoes, with masterpieces.

There is nothing to prevent that when modern militarism becomes less of a necessity than it appears to be to-day art will receive an impetus surprising in its potentiality. Professor Henry Turner Bailey told the National Peace Congress of 1907 that in the realm of the arts man has suffered incalculable and irreparable losses through war. He also said that "the arts under universal peace will offer to young men of spirit infinite opportunities to win the perpetual gratitude of mankind."

Leaving the subject of art in its relation to inter-

national peace and returning to the question of an effective propaganda in the South, the work of Prof. Philip Van Ness Myers, of Cincinnati, calls for special mention. At the instance of the World Peace Foundation, Prof. Myers, during the winter of 1911–12, gave a series of thirty addresses in various Southern universities and colleges. Always the audiences were large and appreciative. Going in some instances into territories which had just before been brought into active co-operation with established peace organisation, the Cincinnati advocate for international good-will found the way opened for him. In other cases, his coming was the first tangible evidence that there was a concerted movement on foot to enlist the South in the work which means so much to the progressive development of the country at large.

The summer preceding Prof. Myers' extensive Southern campaign he had lectured an entire week before the great Summer School of the South, at Knoxville, Tenn., where in years previously Rev. Walter Walsh, of Scotland, and Edwin D. Mead, both at the instance of the World Peace Foundation, had given similar courses of lectures on the significance of the world movement as it pertained especially to Southern commercial and agricultural progress. Just as Baron d'Estournelles found the Southland a hospitable camping ground for his doctrinal exposition, so Prof. Myers found no one not willing to lend a hand to what he proposed to do.

CHAPTER III

NEUTRALITY AN INTERNATIONAL SAFEGUARD

New Orleans and the Other Gulf Cities in their Commercial and Political Relation to Latin America—President Taft has More than Once Emphasised the Importance of Maintaining Strict Neutrality—A French Visitor who Studies the Mexican Problem from a Fresh Point of View—How the University of Texas has Helped the Arbitration Movement—What the Southern States must Do to Discourage Filibustering—The Central American Governments Ready to Co-operate—The South Justly Proud of its Law Schools—The Chief Justice of the United States a Product of Louisiana.

THE new commercial era that awaits the opening of the Panama Canal will find New Orleans fully equipped to care for the tremendous increase in business that must come to the Gulf port. But as a requisite for success in trade there must be both internal and international harmony. If all signs fail not, the great French-American city of the South will do its part toward the maintenance of peaceful relations with the southern neighbours.

The attention of the arbitration workers is now centred southward, even beyond the Rio Grande. New Orleans has for years stood in intimate relationship to the Latin-American republics. Even while the rest of the country knew nothing, or very little, about what was taking place in the southern hemisphere, happenings of Central and South America were fairly familiar to the New Orleans public through the newspapers of

that city, which pay considerable attention to Latin-American affairs.

The geographical position of New Orleans, however, has in the past been responsible for conditions which have made for unrest in certain of the southern republics. That the city has frequently been a rendezvous for revolutionary propagandists may be no reflection upon the integrity of the authorities. At the same time, at a period in the history of the United States when every move is being scrutinised as never before, it would seem to be the wise precaution to so regulate control of municipal affairs that there can be no ground for complaint by the Latin-American countries that have established staple governments and do not wish to have them upset through revolutionary expeditions fitted out in New Orleans or other American ports.

Like other foreigners of distinction, Baron d'Estournelles had observed the comparative freedom with which Latin-American juntas operated in this country. To be sure, the liberal régime that prevails in the United States would not permit of restrictions that might be imposed in other lands. But even Jamaica, which for many years has been the place of refuge for political exiles of all shades in Latin America, refuses to sanction anything that might prove unpleasant to the government of Great Britain.

In his speech before the soldiers at the National Home, at Marion, Indiana, on July 3, 1911, President Taft made a masterly appeal for a better understanding with the people of South and Central America, and he outlined how this could be best accomplished. Said the President:

In the degree of guardianship which the United States must feel over the republics of this hemisphere, in maintaining their integrity against European invasion, we ought to welcome every opportunity which gives us a legitimate instrument by which we can make less probable internecine strife. The irresponsibility of men claiming to be patriots and desiring to overturn existing governments where law and order are not well established has led to a great deal of guerilla warfare and to the suffering of innocent people who find no real principle involved in the two contending parties except that of ambition for power. Much of this kind of work has occurred in South America and in Central America. In the assertion of that sort of guardianship we have to be very careful to avoid the charge, which is always made by the suspicious, that we are seeking our own aggrandisement in our interference with the affairs of other countries of this hemisphere. It is an unfounded charge for we envy no power its territory. We have enough. But we have been able to fend off war in five or more instances of recent date because of our attitude as an older brother of these smaller governments. Thus, in Cuba, after the Platt amendment, we were able to intervene and prevent a bloody war of revolution, and this after 20,000 rebels against the constituted government were in arms immediately outside Havana, ready to take part. We were able by reason of the agreement we made with Santo Domingo to help her collect her revenues and liquidate and satisfy her legitimate debts by putting our agents in charge of the custom houses to take away the chief motive of a revolution, which is the acquisition of the custom houses in order to collect taxes. And by reason of our intervention between Hayti and Santo Domingo we have been able to prevent a war between those two countries, growing out of a dispute over a boundary line which is now in course of reference to The Hague.

So, too, as between Peru and Ecuador [the President said], we were able, with the assistance of the great South American republics, Brazil, Argentina, and Chili, to stop a

war that was on the eve of breaking out; a war that involved chiefly a question of honour, and both countries became willing to submit it to negotiation and arbitration. We have been able to bring the heads of the two contending factions in a civil war in Honduras onto the deck of an American vessel and there negotiate terms which have led to permanent peace. Now Honduras and Nicaragua ask us to assist them in paying their debts by agreeing in case of a default to accept responsibility for the collection of the revenues and to make settlements in accordance with the contracts of indebtedness. These two treaties are pending in the Senate. I sincerely hope they may be confirmed, because I do not know any other power that is so useful in the prevention of war as that which enables the United States government to collect revenues of bankrupts and unstable governments and apply them as law and the contracts may require, and thus to put the governments on their feet firmly.

No American President ever showed greater solicitude for the South than the present incumbent. Whether he speaks before a Western audience of farmers or the bankers of the East, President Taft takes account of the South as a section of the country which must have as fair a show as any. Latin-American peace comes closer home to Louisiana, perhaps, than to any other State within the Union. There is always a studied design in the utterances of the President when he refers to the peace of Central and South America. When Baron d'Estournelles spoke to the students at Tulane University he knew he was addressing himself to those on whom would devolve future national and international tasks. If New Orleans aspires to become one of the greatest ports of the world the city cannot too soon put a stop to revolutionary traffic which is the more

insidious because it works silently and in the dark. Because the laws are ambiguous in relation to the enlistment of men and the shipment of munitions of war for the overthrowing of this or that Latin-American government, there is no reason why self-seeking revolutionaries should be able to make their headquarters within the shadow of the observation tower of the residence built for Napoleon in Chartres Street, as is averred.

In his message to Congress, President Taft again dwelt in full upon the relationship existing between the United States and Latin America. But it was at the New York Peace Banquet, on December 30, 1911, that the chief executive of the nation in a splendid address upon the arbitration treaties brought forward that it behoved this nation to do all in its power to increase harmony among the southern nations. The President had been speaking about the objections made to the pacts and then he continued:

I am in favour of peace in the directest way to get it. What I mean is, we can talk about peace, but we can still have a good deal of war about it. I therefore take the liberty of suggesting a very direct way of promoting peace in one corner, and for us a very important corner of the world. In South America, I am glad to say, the stability of the governments in the last two decades has marvellously increased. And as the Panama Canal approaches completion and we are more and more thrown into touch with our Central American neighbours it seems our duty to lend our assistance in every way to those nations that they may get on their feet and increase the stability of the world.

There is a profession down there in Central America that is more numerous, lucrative, and certain in returns than the law, medicine, or the clergy and that is the profession of revolution.

The President inferred that it was essential that the neutrality laws be safeguarded. The unsuccessful revolution of General Bernado Reyes could have furnished President Taft with an additional text in support of the argument that along the Rio Grande there was also good reason to keep a close watch. The New York *Times* soon after the mysterious movements of General Reyes put the situation concisely in the following editorial:

Too many Latin-American revolutions have been planned, armed, provisioned, and capitalised on our soil. This deplorable business must stop once for all. The treaties with Honduras and Nicaragua, it is hoped, will be approved by the Senate at the coming session. They commit the United States to no policy of interference with those countries. They force upon us no undesirable responsibility, but they will enable both the Central American countries to refund their debts and place their finances in a sound condition. With the custom houses practically under the supervision of the Washington Government, against which no junta of hotheads will ever plan an attack, the danger of so-called revolution will be avoided.

Peace in Mexico and Central America is desirable not only for the intellectual, industrial, and commercial development of those countries, but for our own welfare and comfort. With the Panama Canal approaching completion it is essential that law and order should prevail in the territory between it and the southern boundary of the United States. The prevention of Reyes' scheme to foment discord in Mexico, and supply malcontents there with money and arms, while enjoying the protection of the United States, is a good lesson for Latin-American rebels.

In the Reyes incident, of course, New Orleans had little concern directly. It was the Texas border that

was involved and to the credit of the two governments concerned they co-operated heartily in seeing that the neutrality laws were not violated. As for New Orleans' position in a general way, coincidentally with what was taking place along the Rio Grande reports had it that efforts were under way to send forth a filibustering expedition from the Southern port based on a conspiracy to upset the government of Nicaragua. It was apparent, however, that the United States government was on the alert. Again, a few weeks later, when rumours had it that a plot was under way for an invasion of Honduras by a revolutionary body which intended to make either the United States or Mexico its base of operations, the secret service men of all three countries in question stood watch at New Orleans. That nothing transpired unquestionably was due to the increased vigilance.

As a whole, however, Latin America is setting a worthy example for the movement that means to bring about international arbitration. But the more urgent is the plea for co-operation among the people of the larger sister republic of the north, the more likely it is that Central America will become inspired in the identical direction. The voice of Latin America at The Hague has always sounded strongly in favour of unity.

The difficulties encountered by the Madero administration were an unknown quantity a year ago, but before his departure from New Orleans, Baron d'Estournelles, in an interview with the New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, discussed the Mexican situation which was then reaching a climax. The French peace advocate was about to enter Texas. After Tulane University, the University of Texas was to have him as visitor. With the attention of the world thus centred on the two nations

which have the Rio Grande as the dividing line, Baron d'Estournelles' diplomatic opinion would naturally carry weight.

To one who studies peace and the attainment of it as much as I do [he said], the present situation in Mexico promises to be even more interesting than it has already become. The United States, by displaying its armed forces at the border, is striving to impress upon the Mexicans that it is willing and decided to obtain order and thus obtain peace really by a demonstration of arms. Of course, at the present day such a demonstration is still necessary, but it is really regrettable to think that such should be the case. It is a pity to think how many millions and billions of dollars are wasted on armaments and equipments, army and navy. After all, no one wants war. And yet the nations are still arming, and the men are still instructing and being instructed in the use of arms. The Mexican question is doubtless a very serious one, not only to the American and Mexican governments, but to the whole world, as almost all nations are financially or otherwise interested in that republic. The United States, at any rate, is naturally and certainly obliged to maintain order at its boundary lines, and at the same time it has to observe the most complete neutrality in regard to the internal difficulties of Mexico.

It is and always has been very difficult for all nations in all parts of the world and at all ages to conciliate those two different things, or rather, duties;—to maintain order and at the same time observe neutrality; but nobody can sincerely doubt that the United States will accomplish this, because this work of conciliation is precisely the work to which the United States has devoted itself, as far as I know, for the past twelve years, or, in other words, ever since the Peace Conference was held at The Hague. Ever since that time it has never missed or allowed a single occasion to slip by which enabled it to serve the cause of peace, order, and inter-

national justice, and it has followed this course with admirable energy and has worked to accomplish the task it has set itself with the true devotion which such a cause, the cause of justice and peace, is worth. And I am happy to say that it is not only the United States Government, the officials at the head of the nation, but the American people themselves who have had this ambition and have supported it by their best efforts.

On his arrival at Austin, Baron d'Estournelles was met by the committee appointed by the University of Texas authorities. Coming from New Orleans by way of Galveston, he was accompanied from the latter city by M. Milon de Peillon, the French consul of the Texan Gulf port. Arrangements for the address to be delivered at the University were in charge of Professor William J. Battle. Preceding the lecture of Baron d'Estournelles in the large auditorium of the University of Texas the distinguished visitor from France was entertained at dinner by President S. A. Mezes.

The audience that greeted Baron d'Estournelles at the University illustrated the interest which the peace movement has aroused in the educational circles of Texas. On the platform with the speaker were some of the most prominent officials of the State. The meeting was presided over by President Mezes. Among the noted educators present was Professor S. P. Brooks, President of Baylor University. The speaker was introduced by Governor Colquitt.

It is of interest to recall that on the day Baron d'Estournelles was addressing the assemblage in the auditorium of the University of Texas, Francisco Leon de la Barra, the then Mexican ambassador to the United States, was speeding toward Mexico City to assume his

place as minister of foreign relations in the new cabinet of President Diaz. It was in reality the beginning of the end of the Diaz régime. But while most people were in doubt that peaceful relations could be maintained between the United States and Mexico, with the American soldiers on the northern bank of the Rio Grande, and many Mexicans scarcely able to restrain themselves, Baron d'Estournelles insistently declared that the situation, delicate as it was, presaged no actual danger. Taking the military complications for his key he spoke as follows:

The climax to a rough voyage of eight days came when in New York I was told that the mobilisation of the American army in Texas meant that the United States was making ready to go to war. Still, I could not take that view of the situation. What I told the newspaper representatives on my arrival I repeat now: the relations between the two republics preclude hostilities. My diplomatic experience told me intuitively that while on the surface trouble seemed to point in the direction of complications, international conciliation is already too far advanced for two such neighbourly countries as Mexico and the United States to even quarrel.

The position of the American nation [continued Baron d'Estournelles] is extremely simple as compared with what would happen in Europe under similar circumstances. Such a flurry as the present is likely to occur any day there, and each incident is fraught with far more serious possibilities. No, the difficulty which confronts the United States in dealing with the border situation is slight in comparison with those which France and Germany and other European countries have to grapple with every day. Moreover, these war preparations are the most pacific that I have ever witnessed. I can carry a good report of you home to France.

Baron d'Estournelles said that the Hague Court had come into existence because the need for conciliation had become apparent to all civilised nations. He viewed the early struggles of the Court for recognition. He told about the comparatively small body of idealists who had to bear the brunt of criticism, and how the Court was like a business house without customers.

"Which should be the first nation to refer an international difficulty to this neglected tribunal?" Baron d'Estournelles inquired of his audience, as he next answered his own question, "Why, the United States. But there must be two parties to a quarrel—who was the other? Why, none other than this same Mexico, your neighbour."

The speaker had reference to the case of the Pius Fund of Mexico, a dispute of long standing which the Hague Court decided to the mutual satisfaction of the two countries. What Baron d'Estournelles failed to tell, however, was that it was due to his initiative that President Roosevelt in 1902 began negotiations for taking the case to The Hague. It was at the close of a more limited lecture tour than the one of 1911 that the French peace worker suggested to the President that it would be setting the world a splendid example were the United States and Mexico to open the activities of the newly constituted International Court of Arbitration by submitting the Pius Fund case to The Hague. The plan was carried out as outlined.

One word more about the peace movement in Louisiana before taking up the subject touching Texas. No organised efforts have as yet been made to bring the scattered interests into a concrete whole, but already there are evidences that before long organisation will be effected by those working for international arbitration.

It is worth noting that the South has always been deservedly proud of its law schools, its jurists. The Chief Justice of the United States is a native son of Louisiana. All matters that have to do with The Hague are followed with profound attention by the legal profession of the State. At both the University of Texas and Tulane University Baron d'Estournelles dwelt particularly upon the gatherings that constituted the first and second Hague Conferences, which he attended as the delegate of France. He pointed prophetically toward the third Conference which will be held within a few years in the great Peace Palace erected in the Dutch city through the liberality of Andrew Carnegie.

CHAPTER IV

THE RIO GRANDE BORDER PROBLEM

The Neutrality Warning of the American President—Talk of Intervention a Perpetual Bugbear which the Administration Wants to do away with—Texas the Scene of Greatest Military Activity since War with Spain—The Achievements of President Samuel P. Brooks of Baylor University, in the Domain of Peace—How the State Peace Society of Texas Came into Being—Why Baron d'Estournelles Came to the United States at the Instance of the Carnegie Endowment—How the Movement has Spread to Georgia—The Great Gathering in Atlanta—The Eloquence of Colonel Henry Watterson—Southern Peace Propagandists.

WITH Texas so directly concerned in the vicissitudes of the republic across the Rio Grande, the Lone Star State for a time containing within its borders a considerable army ready for eventualities, it is but natural that a contrasting picture should be presented there of war and peace. Except for occurrences that hardly could have been avoided there was nothing taking place during the days of greatest Mexican unrest to mar the good relationship existing between the two governments. There was plenty of opportunity, however, for the Texan peace advocates to exert themselves in the direction of instructing the public generally regarding the wisdom of a neutral attitude. President Taft's proclamation of March 2d was an additional warning that applied directly to the Texas commonwealth.

According to the New York *Herald* of March 3d,

the proclamation giving warning to those who violate the neutrality laws is to be followed by a determined policy on the part of the government to punish offenders where they can be reached legally and to put a stop to the propaganda of intervention which is being spread by interested persons to excite feelings in Mexico. These agents, however, display cunning knowledge of the neutrality laws.

Those who have followed the Mexican situation from the beginning of the movement against General Diaz to the present, confess to a realisation of a decided change on the part of the American press in its general attitude toward Mexico and the disturbed condition of the neighbouring republic. It is indisputable that the arbitration campaign that has been conducted during the past year—Baron d'Estournelles' tour of the country, President Taft's visit to the West and the Middle West, etc.—has been a contributing factor of consequence in robbing jingoism of its sting. The Texas State Peace Society has certainly had a mission to perform during the months that brought the commonwealth into the limelight as a camping ground for United States troops. It can be said for President S. P. Brooks, of Baylor University, Waco, Texas, that as the president of the Texas peace organisation this southern educator has been a valiant champion of the cause.

It was at the first National Peace Congress, held in New York City, during April of 1907, that President Brooks conceived the idea that a similar congress for Texas would be of incalculable educational service. As a delegate to the New York gathering the Texan educator had full opportunity to ascertain how best to present the facts to his own people. It was on that

occasion, moreover, that President Brooks became familiar with the work of Baron d'Estournelles, as the French peace promoter was a constant attendant and spoke at many of the meetings. Having come to the United States at the invitation of Andrew Carnegie, to attend the dedicatory exercises at the opening of the Carnegie Institute at Pittsburg, Baron d'Estournelles gladly availed himself of the opportunity to be present during the time of the National Peace Congress, in New York.

Few in that vast audience in Carnegie Hall gave closer heed to what the French diplomatist had to say about the horrors of war and the benefits of peace than did the Texas university professor. Then and there he made up his mind that he would be derelict in his duties did he not make an effort to stir up similar interest among his fellow-citizens. The many addresses that followed the speech by Baron d'Estournelles during what has been considered the most important gathering of its kind in this country up to that time assured President Brooks that he was on the right road. Shortly after his return to Baylor University he issued an appeal through the press and sent out hundreds of letters asking that the people of Texas assemble and take part in a Texas State Peace Congress which was subsequently held at the University November 19–21 of that year. The Congress was not only the first gathering of the kind held in the State, but the Texas State Peace Congress was the first meeting of this nature held in any State of the United States.

It is quite true that the University of Texas offers excellent facilities for a mission like that which brought Baron d'Estournelles to Austin. But the success of his visit was due in large part to President Brooks, who

as the head of Baylor University did all in his power to make the affair one of significance to the entire State. Of course, President Mezes, of the University of Texas, as well as the faculty and student body, are fully cognisant that the education of the future must have international peace as an assurance in order to become fully effective. Even so, the entire educational machinery of the State is ready to agree that President Brooks' labours have been invaluable because he not only knows how things should be done, but is himself a doer of great things.

Had circumstances permitted, Baron d'Estournelles would have included Waco in his itinerary. As it was, President Brooks took occasion to pay his respects to the French visitor at Austin. Having organised the Texas State Peace Society, shortly after the successful Congress had taken place, the President of Baylor University realised that his work, far from being completed, had just begun. He knew that constant agitation was requisite in order for arbitration to hold the attention of the public. As has been said, the visit of Baron d'Estournelles occurred at a time when Texas had become the military camp of the nation. Crying peace, peace, when apparently there was no peace, seemed rather paradoxical with 20,000 soldiers within the commonwealth. Had complications set in then Texas would no doubt have had to carry the brunt of the immediate burden. At no time within recent times did the workers in behalf of caution and conciliation find greater demand upon their resourcefulness than during the latter part of March, 1911.

The letters that Baron d'Estournelles contributed to *Le Temps* during his three months' tour of this country are valuable in more than one respect. Not satisfied

with coming to the United States to tell Americans how important it is for them to exert themselves in behalf of arbitration, the French parliamentarian considered it his duty to keep his own people in close touch with what he observed. In a picturesque manner he described for the benefit of the readers of *Le Temps* how Texas impressed him. It was not the ordinary impression of a casual traveller, but the pen picture of a writer practised in the art. Baron d'Estournelles has been almost everywhere. He is as much at home in Constantinople as in London. His faculty for employing comparative data he used to good advantage during his American tour. In the various letters to the Paris newspaper he now drew on his recollections of Northern Africa, in speaking of Louisiana scenery, for instance, or he compared a city like New Orleans with some old world municipality. Wherever he went he looked deeply into things. Whether at Austin, Galveston, San Antonio, El Paso, Baron d'Estournelles viewed Texas from an individual standpoint, while, at the same time, he was able to tell the people of the State where they had achieved most and what were their shortcomings.

In one respect Baron d'Estournelles saw Texas as all foreigners have seen it: a huge country of unlimited possibilities. A nation, as it were, within the nation, its proximity to the Panama Canal necessarily will make Texas a greater commonwealth than ever. The people of the State hardly yet estimate the wonderful position of their territory. Galveston with New Orleans spell Southern Atlantic control of the great trade that must come to the ports bordering on the Gulf of Mexico when the two oceans become joined. The agricultural development of the South, together with

the great industrial progress of some of the States, point to a time when there must be found an outlet for the products of soil and shop. If permanent peace among the nations is not a guarantee on which to build, commercial activity becomes hampered at the start. Here is a reason, then, why Baron d'Estournelles appeared before so many chambers of commerce, economic clubs, and kindred organisations while in the United States. Clearly, if American prosperity is to continue, the men who lead in business, no less than the educators of the country, must be brought into the movement that tends toward unlimited arbitration and the ultimate abolition of war.

In Texas, as in Louisiana, the French investigator expressed his amazement because the great rivers were virtually going to waste. He would have the people turn their attention more fully to internal navigation. If the Lone Star State had an increase of manufacturing establishments amounting to 45 per cent. from 1904 to 1909, then provisions should be made so that the anticipated further increase in manufacture should find ample transportation facilities in years to come. If the value of the product was $122,368,000 more in 1909 than in 1904, then it would naturally follow that another five years would see Texas manufacturing correspondingly advanced. In the South, as later in the North-West, Baron d'Estournelles deplored the absence of good roads, and he showed how Americans were in a better position than any other people to have the best of transportation facilities, and how they were still neglecting the greatest opportunity within their reach.

The visit of Baron d'Estournelles to Texas has had as a result that not only avowed peace workers are now exerting themselves in behalf of international arbitra-

tion, but that the farmers and business men give more general support to the movement.

I am not one of those who regret the very frank discussion concerning the plan proposed by President Taft of an unqualified treaty of arbitration between the United States, England, and France [wrote Baron d'Estournelles in the *Outlook*, shortly after his departure from the United States]. While I am entirely in favour of the signing of such treaties, and believe that such an example set by the three great liberal nations of the world would be of incalculable value in influencing other nations, I am not in favour of signing such treaties with closed eyes. I should advise that the matter be seriously discussed, as it deserves to be; and if I should again be dubbed a dreamer by those who happily will be called to realise my dreams, I would congratulate myself on the assurance that my critics were not swayed by a passing fancy, but were acting in obedience to reason. . . . I am therefore not ill pleased that discussion of this question should be so general before a final decision is reached. This general discussion is the very best way to educate the public. The point is, not to take by surprise, but to instruct and conquer, public opinion.

To instruct, to educate public opinion was the reason why the American Association for International Conciliation requested Baron d'Estournelles to come to the United States. Nothing should have pleased the administration at Washington better than to have a distinguished foreigner like the French parliamentarian address American audiences on the subject of arbitration in its relation to national and international development. When coincidentally the people of France were being informed, through the letters in *Le Temps*, as to what Americans thought of a treaty to which it was proposed the sister republic should be a party, public

opinion both in the United States and abroad was being educated along identical lines. Baron d'Estournelles dwelt illuminatively on what he learned on his visit to El Paso.

The youngest of the Southern peace societies, the Georgia Peace Society has already become the staunch ally of the movement which is bound to wed the South and North still closer. Had it been possible for Baron d'Estournelles to have been at Atlanta on May 28, 1911, he would have witnessed a peace jubilee in which 4000 citizens of the State pledged their support to President Taft in his efforts for universal arbitration. Held under the joint auspices of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce and the Georgia Peace Society, the meeting had for its leading speaker Senator Theodore E. Burton, of Ohio, the newly-elected president of the American Peace Society. The presiding officer was Frederic J. Paxon, president of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce. On the platform were many distinguished Georgians including Governor Joseph M. Brown, Mayor Courtland S. Winn, Clark Howell, editor of the Atlanta *Constitution*, Judge George Hillyer, and others. President H. C. White, of the Georgia Peace Society, in introducing Senator Burton stated that he had just returned from a conference of the world powers on international affairs and that the sense of the gathering had been that there was but one nation fitted to undertake the initiative in the world peace movement, and that was the United States.

Addressing the Georgians, Senator Burton said.

We are living in a most marvellous age. The progress and advancement along all lines during the nineteenth century has surpassed the progress of any age in the history of the world. The last ten years have seen

President Taft Planting the Peace Tree in Patio of Pan-American Union Building, April 26, 1910.

Reading from left to right: Director-General John Barrett, Bishop Harding, Andrew Carnegie, President Taft, Secretary of State Knox, Senator Root, Cardinal Gibbons.

Photo by William H. Ran, Philadelphia.

greater things accomplished than the entire one hundred years preceding. There are no longer invasions of barbarians, bearing down upon civilisation to destroy it, and this constitutes one reason for the abolition of war. Another thing which contributes toward universal peace is the absence of wars for the aggrandisement of rulers of state. No man will to-day make so bold as to declare that he is the state. That era of disturbance came to an end with Napoleon and Waterloo. Another thing that tends toward the abolition of warfare and the establishment of universal peace is the fact that the burden of taxation is becoming almost unbearable. It is a matter of record that two thirds of the expenditures of the national government are for the maintenance of the army and navy and for the payment of pensions which are but a legacy of war, while only one third of the expenditures are for agriculture and the other numerous activities of peace. The navy last year cost the government $137,000,000 or twice as much as the total expenses of the government in 1860.

Do you think for a moment that the people are going to stand for it? Certainly not. It is only a question of time when they will tire of this taxation, and then they will unite and demand unanimously that a peace compact be entered into which will solve the multifarious problems over which the nations have disputed in the past and which have nearly always resulted in strife and bloodshed. The sentiment of the nations throughout the world is against war as a means of settling disputes. I would like to refer to the constant threat of war with Japan or Germany. It may be a coincidence, but it is strikingly noticeable that whenever some naval bill is pending there are threats of war with some of the other powers of the world.

Citizens of Atlanta [Senator Burton stated with emphasis], Japan does not contemplate war, for the reason that every Caucasian race would be against it. Furthermore, there are few nations of Europe that could afford to go to war without our consent, because war is not a question of

guns but of supplies and resources, and we are coming more and more to be the purveyors of the wants of the world. Unless in the future the United States gives its consent, there can be few wars.

The mass-meeting in Atlanta showed that Georgia, like all its Southern sister States, wants to grow strong and prosperous, and the citizens of the commonwealth realise more than at any time in the past that neither municipal, State, national nor international progress is possible without the guarantee that peace alone can furnish.

Seven months after the memorable meeting of May 28th, Atlantans again came together, this time 7000 strong, to endorse the arbitration treaties with Great Britain and France. On Sunday December 24th, the day before Christmas, there was held in the Auditorium-Armory of Atlanta one of the most distinguished gatherings of men and women in the history of the commonwealth of Georgia. The occasion was an address by Colonel Henry Watterson, the editor of the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, who had thrown himself into the peace arena with the same enthusiasm that this veteran journalist had formerly displayed in politics. Colonel Watterson's plea for more united effort to bring about world peace proved one of the most masterful orations to the credit of the eloquent Kentuckian. On the stage with the speaker were 200 men and women. Judges, lawyers, bankers, merchants, newspaper men were there.

By way of introduction Dr. White explained why the society had been organised. It was done, he said, that a concrete agency might be provided through which the people of the State might be informed, and public opinion crystallised in advocacy of the practicable efforts

now making the world over for the establishment of law and order in the international relations of civilised peoples.

Now, as at the meeting in May [Dr. White said], your great newspapers have exhibited their active interest and demonstrated their sympathetic approval of our efforts in joining in an invitation to one of the leaders and the masters of their craft to give us to-day of his knowledge and his wisdom in advocacy of the cause of universal peace. To introduce him to this audience I have the great pleasure and privilege to present one of your own great editors and publicists, known to America and to you as an able and zealous advocate of all good works affecting our civic, State, and national interests, the Hon. Clark Howell of the *Constitution*.

Mr. Howell's appearance was greeted with no less enthusiasm than was accorded Colonel Watterson when the editor of the Atlanta *Constitution* introduced the main speaker of the evening. The noted Atlantan referred to the appropriateness of discussing universal peace with Christmas almost dawning.

At a time in the history of the peace movement when the press of the United States can either make or mar the issue, it is significant that in the case of the Atlanta meeting two leading editors of two Southern States appeared on the same platform in advocacy of the treaties. Neither of these men has ever been accused of being an illusionist. They are now, as ever, among the most patriotic citizens of their respective States. Their alliance with the cause means very much to the great movement.

In his address Colonel Watterson said:

It would seem that a measure of such public benefit as

the arbitration treaties with England and France would call for little urging on any intelligent or patriotic American audience. In England and France there is no dissent. Here, however, owing to the perversity of some, the ignorance or indifference of many, a campaign of education and an appeal to reason seem necessary to determine the simple truism that peace is better than war.

I was raised in that atmosphere where a subterfuge for valour was a so-called "code of honour." In reality, it was an exposition of unmanly vanity and did not have even the equity of manly combat to recommend it. When the call to arms came in the '60's, not a single one of these professional duellists proved himself a good soldier on the field of battle. For this reason, the system fell away from the South as it had already fallen away from the North and from England.

About this time I began to inquire, if individual combat could be eliminated from among individuals without the loss of personal dignity, why collective combat might not be eliminated from among nations. It took me a long time to reach an affirmative conclusion. I am—that is to say, I was—temperamentally given to contentions and was loath to admit even to myself that disagreements, petty or serious, were not a part of the universal plan.

Colonel Watterson then told his Atlanta audience all about the treaties—what they meant to accomplish, what he considered the safeguards thrown around the proposed tribunal—and then he dwelt at length upon the horrors of war. He asked that Atlantans make their influence felt in the Senate so that the treaties could be ratified, and he concluded by saying that in accepting the arbitration treaties "we put ourselves forward as leaders of the world, to fulfil the mission of the fathers of the Republic."

Two Southern educators of distinction, President

S. C. Mitchell, of the University of South Carolina, and Prof. John H. Latane, of Washington and Lee University, Virginia, have recently contributed some valuable material for the purpose of peace elucidation. In the case of both, their addresses at the annual convention of the American Society for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes proved of sterling interest to the delegates gathered at Cincinnati.

President Mitchell spoke on "Some Effects of American Principles." He showed that for centuries there has been a union of interests in the Old World which has voiced itself in congresses at Vienna, Paris, and Berlin—an international state, he called it, with continuous being but spasmodic action. President Mitchell affirmed that the Monroe Doctrine proclaimed a Pan-American Union on this side of the Atlantic similar to what the old world congresses stood for abroad. He argued that this American idea had stood guard the whole length of the coast against foreign invasion. As regards the arguments advanced touching ratification of the treaties, the head of the University of South Carolina said:

It is well for the arbitration treaties in the Senate to be discussed fully from every point of view by the American people. Mr. Roosevelt has in this spirit come forward to challenge the wisdom of the proposed treaties, quoting modern instances, such as the war in China and the war between Italy and Turkey, as proofs that the treaties are mere paper. But his argument fails in several particulars. In making treaties we must be careful as to the stability and justice of the governments with which we wish to enter into agreements of this kind. It is not only necessary that a nation be strong but also great in conscience and moral wisdom.

I admire both Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Taft, but for different reasons [continued President Mitchell]. The one is pre-eminent in aggressive qualities, the other in judicial temper. In rebuilding the Supreme Court, Mr. Taft's sagacity has not failed, and his instinct in putting forth all his energies to create an International Court of Arbitral Justice is in accord with his true genius and nature. In siding on a judicial question with such constitutional lawyers as Taft, Root, Cullum, and Burton, we shall hardly make a mistake. In war, I should look to Roosevelt. In working out the principles of arbitral justice, I unhesitatingly turn to Taft.

In 1904 I attended a great meeting in the Royal Albert Hall, in London, where Joseph Chamberlain addressed a throng of 10,000 Englishmen in the interest of a closer union of the British Empire. Just opposite to the stand from which he spoke, this motto was painted in large letters: "Learn to think imperially." The message likewise to America to-day is: "Learn to think internationally." If we master that lesson, if we orientate ourselves aright in the moving forces in the modern world, we shall be able to advance safely and steadily the great cause of international justice and peace, in which the proposed arbitration treaties are a signal step forward.

As for the proposed amendments to the arbitration treaties, Professor Latane, who is professor of history and international law in Washington and Lee University, in his address showed that the reservation of questions affecting honour or vital interests is comprehensive enough to cover any question that a State chooses to include.

When the United States first suggested the arbitration of the Alabama Claims in 1863 [he said], Earl Russell declined to entertain the proposal on the ground that the question involved the honour of her Majesty's government,

of which that government was "the sole guardian." Eight years later this dispute was referred to the Geneva tribunal and amicably disposed of. Honour in a matter of this kind is a question of time and circumstance. But while former treaties have probably served a useful purpose in preparing the way for a further advance, they fall very short of what we believe to be practicable and expedient to-day.

President Taft is the first ruler who has frankly recognised this fact and boldly invited the nations of the earth to take the next step forward in the great peace movement.

Professor Latane dwelt upon the majority and minority reports of the Senate Committee relative to the treaties, and he gave his reasons why the objections to the pacts fell to the ground of their own weight, according to his point of view.

I do not wish to be understood as questioning the constitutional right of the Senate to tie the President's hands in this matter of arbitration [Professor Latane said], but I do question the expediency of such a course. The Senate, of course, has the right to refuse to ratify any general arbitration treaty at all, but if they favour the principle of a general arbitration treaty, and I believe the American people favour such a treaty, then let them not emasculate the treaty, but ratify it in some form that will further, and not impede, the cause of arbitration. The Senate and ex-President Roosevelt are strangely in accord on this question,—a remarkable change of heart somewhere, since 1905. Both appear to favour arbitration when the United States is sure to win, but both want to be in a position to block it if there is serious danger of the United States losing. It so happens that we have in the past won most of the important arbitrations to which we have been a party, but if the time ever comes for us to be losers, I hope we shall lose with good grace, and submit to the reward as promptly and as

honourably as England did in the case of the Alabama Claims.

The North Carolina Peace Society is one of the few organisations of its kind in the United States which openly advocates a naval and military equipment of a scope sufficiently great to measure up with what the rest of the powers are doing in that direction. Former President Roosevelt was considerably interested in the work of the society during his terms in office. Hayne Davis, at one time the president of the North Carolina Peace Society, and the author of *Among the World's Peace-Makers*, in 1908, headed a delegation from North Carolina which called on Mr. Roosevelt at the White House and presented a resolution which read partly as follows:

> Adequate armament necessitates an unquestionably superior naval power in the waters adjacent to our possessions in both the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Effective arbitration necessitates treaties between our country and all other governments by which the contracting powers mutually agree to respect each other's territory and sovereignty in said territory and arbitrate all other questions of law or fact.

The North Carolina Society does not seem to differ in its general interest from what President Taft has enunciated recently regarding the naval policy of the administration. The society has an able champion in Congress in the person of Hon. John H. Small whose addresses on arbitration are familiar to the House. Mr. Davis is to be remembered as the secretary of the American delegation to the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Conference of the Interparliamentary Union.

The peace movement in the South will find additional inspiration in the fact that the American Peace Society

has at last succeeded in establishing a department for the South Atlantic States. The headquarters are at Atlanta. Dr. J. J. Hall, pastor of the First Baptist Church, Fayetteville, N. C., has been chosen director. The Georgia Peace Society will lend its efficient aid to the propaganda in the States concerned.

Since leaving office, former President Roosevelt has not been identified with the American peace movement in a manner so conspicuous as to cause attention. At the same time, his arbitration activity while President, his unmatched service in bringing Japan and Russia together at Portsmouth, the epochal chapter in world-history that Theodore Roosevelt engendered in that hour showed international conciliation at its best. The Nobel peace prize came to him because of the service which Mr. Roosevelt rendered as pacificator. When he called together the Second Hague Conference he certainly could have meant nothing less than that arbitration is to-day an all-essential in world politics.

The former President having exerted himself so strenuously in bringing two other nations into such relations as should exclude further armed conflict, it followed as a natural result that the American workers for international amity anticipated nothing less where the United States and Japan, for instance, are concerned. It is true that on the score of propaganda work there has been some argument that Mr. Roosevelt is no longer so conspicuous as formerly. But the reason for this may be found in the fact that he considers himself unable at present to throw his entire weight into the balance. There are ample proofs in his first, second, and third annual messages that the ex-President, while in office, had arbitration much at heart. It is now ten years ago that he said that "the formation of the

international tribunal which sits at The Hague is an event of good omen from which great consequences for the welfare of all mankind may flow. It is far better, where possible, to invoke such a personal tribunal than to create special arbitrators for a given purpose."

During the years that have passed since Mr. Roosevelt informed Congress how he stood on arbitration, another President has made arbitration history that has for its chief aim the cementing of international ties. In the case of Japan and the United States the policy of William Howard Taft has been tested and found not wanting.

CHAPTER V

YELLOW-PERIL MYTH DISPELLED

Common Sense Principal Factor in Bringing Japan and United States Closer—Anglo-Japanese Treaty in Its Present Form Enhances Chance for Continuous Friendship between Powers Facing across the Pacific—California Ready to Hold Out Hand of Amity—Los Angeles' Greeting to a Statesman-Diplomatist—Reasons why Nippon Does Not Want War—American Commercial Organisations Uphold Arbitration Pact—Contributions of Dr. David Starr Jordan to Literature on Peace—California Peace Societies Active—San Francisco's Welcome to Baron d'Estournelles—Washington and Oregon in Line.

THE so-called "yellow peril" has long constituted one of the threatening instruments that the jingoists held over the heads of Californians as a Damocles sword, ready to drop at any moment. Arbitration advocates, therefore, have been eager to bring their own arguments to bear in a part of the country which has sometimes stood as the arbiter of things Pacific, and the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese treaty, with the clause attached which relieved England from the obligation of making war against any nation with which the country had an arbitration alliance, was welcomed in California, as elsewhere in the United States, as an earnest of the fact that both Japan and Great Britain desired above all things to be at peace.

There was no man better fitted to explain arbitration in all its ramifications than Baron d'Estournelles, although when the French apostle of peace reached

California the Japanese treaty had not yet been ratified with England in its present form. There is hardly a doubt, however, that Washington was thoroughly informed beforehand what was contemplated relative to Japan to facilitate the negotiations of the treaty with Great Britain for unlimited arbitration with the United States.

The itinerary of Baron d'Estournelles on the Pacific coast included stops at Los Angeles, San Francisco, at the university centres of Palo Alto and Berkeley, Seattle and other northern points. The California, Oregon, and Washington peace societies worked hand in hand with other organisations in arranging programmes. Fresh from Texas, with its military operations in full swing, the Baron was in an exceptional position to tell Californians of his personal observations. Viewing the situation from the standpoint of internationalism, he felt that there was then no danger of a conflict with the republic to the south. He was prepared to deal jingoism as hard a blow as he was capable of delivering, and when he addressed his first California audience, Baron d'Estournelles struck square from the shoulder.

It was in Simpson Auditorium, Los Angeles, under the auspices of the City Club, on the evening of March 28th, that Baron d'Estournelles said:

> There seems to me to be a peace among you people living in California, a degree of happiness and content, a freedom from strife, that I have never seen to such an extent in any country. It is like the land itself and it is no doubt born of it. But there is a storm hanging over your heads, a battle that threatens destruction to all this loveliness, and it is of this that I have come to warn you, lest you be carried away by the haphazard of a moment, and in a second, as it were, your peace is destroyed by war with a nation which

does not want war any more than you do, but which may be forced into it by circumstances that seem to deepen around you both.

I allude to Japan, and to the probability of a struggle between the United States and that country that would result in terrible devastation to each nation. Let me assure you—and I know of this matter, as it has been my study for more than ten years—that Japan does not want war with you or any country in the world, and never will there be a war between these two countries unless it is stirred up by the ignorance existing in both nations as to the conditions and wishes of each.

Japan, like the United States, is in a period of reconstruction, of development and progress, when she needs all her powers and all her energies for the problem of growth and development that she is facing. At such a time war would mean, perhaps, centuries of retardation not only to Japan, but also to you, for a war between the two countries would be one of the most destructive that history has known.

In America, too, and especially in the western part, you need this energy and blood in the same way that Japan does, and so I say that war would be one of the greatest crimes that could possibly happen.

Baron d'Estournelles paid a tribute to California and said that a decade or so ago Europe thought that Paris was about the only paradise on earth. But, he added, this was no longer so. People from the European countries now realise that California is the pearl of great price. They cross the Atlantic, stay a while in the East, go on to Chicago, and then spend as much of their time as possible on the golden coast.

Baron d'Estournelles was introduced to his Los Angeles audience by Judge Frank Finlayson, president of the City Club. The reception committee consisted of Mayor Alexander, Councilmen Betkouski and Lusk;

Mark Keppel, R. C. Root, Robert Watchorn, L. A. Handley, F. C. Nellis, Meyer Lissner, Louis Sentous, Jr., George M. Chartier, Rev. Charles E. Locke, and James A. Foshay.

Baron d'Estournelles spoke also before the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce. Here he referred especially to the fertility of California soil, how France had good cause to be jealous of her reputation in view of the many products of the Pacific coast now in competition with those of his own country.

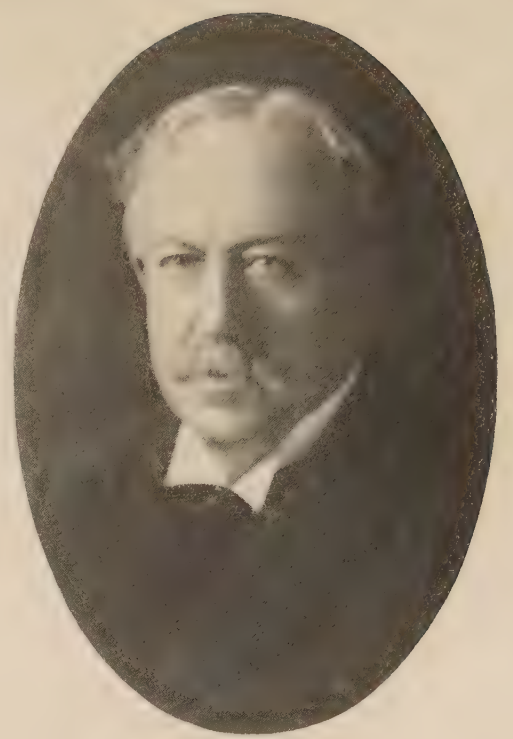
> But after all [he said], we are not jealous of you. In this day of the higher civilisation, people wish the best of everything. It may be our boast, I hope, that as we have been sister republics among the nations of the world, so we may be agricultural sisters and know a pride in our mutual commerce that we have known in our mutual politics.
>
> With all of your rich agricultural resources, many of which have been developed at the expense of great energy and toil, it seems a pity that war may come to this fair land and destroy what has taken so long and so much hard work to build up. Looking as I have at your wonderful prospects and at your wonderful present, I cannot help but enjoin you to fight against this possibility of a clash in arms, so that you may go ahead with your constructive area and not have it destroyed in a foolish waste of war. For centuries the aim of states has been to destroy. In the last analysis, governments have been maintained for the purpose of statehood, the aiding of each other as well as themselves. But our politics are now the politics of peace, and not, as they have been, the politics of war, and it is this fact that gives me hope in believing that the day is not far distant when arbitration of international affairs will settle all disputes.

President James Slauson, of the Chamber of Commerce, presided at the meeting, and the members of

Robert C. Root,

Director Pacific Coast Department American Peace Society, Secretary Southern California Peace Society and Northern California Peace Society.

Photo by Hartsook.



Dr. David Starr Jordan,

President Leland Stanford University California, Director World Peace Foundation.

Photo by Misses Wilson and Kelly, Palo Alto, Cal.

the reception committee included some of the most prominent business men of Los Angeles. Baron d'Estournelles also addressed the 2000 pupils of the Polytechnic High School. Here he gave a running account of the peace movement—what had been done both to hinder and promote the cause; how some of the world's greatest thinkers had devoted their lives to its accomplishment, and how it remained for the United States to set the nations an example. He appealed to the young people with an earnestness that went home. He had nothing against patriotic enthusiasm, he averred, and stood as ready as any man to defend the dignity of his country. But he desired to make clear that the victories of peace were far and above anything to be gained through warfare. That was the aim of the technical training which they were undergoing, he claimed, to make ready for the industrial and commercial competition which will test the calibre of the nations in time to come.

Baron d'Estournelles spoke to the French colony in his native language. The affair was a social function but it afforded the international peace advocate an additional opportunity to impress upon his American countrymen the necessity of working conscientiously for constantly improved relations between the mother country and the home of their adoption. During his stay in the city, Baron d'Estournelles was in charge of Dr. Arthur S. Phelps, the president of the Southern California Peace Society, and Robert C. Root, secretary and Pacific coast representative of the American Peace Society, of which both the southern and northern societies are branches. In recognition of the work which the Southern California Peace Society has done for arbitration, Baron d'Estournelles presented the

organisation with the bronze medal of the Association for International Conciliation. The medal is inscribed with the motto: "Pro patria per orbis concordiam," that is, "For my country through the peace of the world."

In San Francisco, the first address of Baron d'Estournelles took place before the Commonwealth Club in the Scottish Rite auditorium. Again his theme was Japan and the unreasonableness of predicting war between that nation and the United States. As at Los Angeles, he deplored the tendency to incite ill-feeling between the two nations bordering on the Pacific Ocean. He reiterated his conviction that the inherent common sense of the two peoples would prevail against all manner of jingoism.

Let us suppose [he said] that the United States, following an unfortunate inspiration, attacks Japan and is victorious. This victory would be of no use. Japan would remain inaccessible and even stronger than before, standing upon its right against an unjust aggression. It would be supported by the national feeling of its people and by the exalted solidarity of Asia. No civilised nation could abstain from approving resistance. But now supposing the reverse, that in a moment of complete folly Japan attacked the United States. This attack would be for Japan suicidal.

Let us suppose with the most pessimistic alarmist that Japan, starting a policy of imperialism and megalomania, would try to monopolise the Pacific Ocean, claiming Asia for the Asiatic. It would be the beginning of its decadence and the end of its power. Acting against the United States, taking by surprise or by force the Philippines and the Hawaiian Islands, it would open at the same time an era of general aggression against Europe. Japan could not stop there. It would threaten Great Britain—Singapore as well

as Shanghai; France—Saigon as well as Hanoi; Germany, Netherlands, Russia, Australia, too,—in fact, all the world. That is very much to do for one nation.

And where would Japan find money for experimenting in the Pacific this Napoleonic policy of a universal blockade? And what would become of its industry, of its agriculture, of its commerce, of its economic leadership in China? It would be a miserable collapse, and not the triumph, of Japanese imperialism.

Let us stop this alarmist nonsense [Baron d'Estournelles exclaimed]; let us stop these pessimistic requests for new expenses for armaments and empty glory! The empire of the sea exists no more. The Pacific Ocean will belong to all, as the sky belongs to aviation and not to one nation only. Let us be confident in the wisdom of the Japanese nation and the Japanese government. For some time a future contest between the Japanese and the United States has been accepted as inevitable. All these theories of inevitable wars are founded upon fallacies and ignorance and nothing more. Japan is coming to the knowledge that it is impossible to start a war merely for the sake of imperialism. We can substitute another policy for war. We can abolish a policy of war not only because it is of no use but because of the great usefulness of the substitute.

Baron d'Estournelles described the workings of the Hague Court and how for twelve years, since the first conference at The Hague, workers in every country had been endeavouring to bring the public to realise its usefulness. The speaker dwelt on the various delicate situations that had been created in the international world and how arbitration had been made use of with excellent results.

In the Congregational Church, San Francisco, Baron d'Estournelles delivered one of his impressive addresses on the uselessness of war.

Without discussing recent wars [he said], but merely those that have taken place between France and Russia, we may be said to have lived through a chapter of history which will be written one of these days under the title that enlightened patriotism would give it—"useless wars." In less than a century French armies have carried the war into Russia, first to Moscow and then to the Crimea. Neither of these wars has been taken to heart and remembered by the Russian people, and they have not held France responsible. Neither at Moscow in Napoleon's time nor in the trenches before Sebastopol did the French soldiers discover any sign of hostility, hatred or incompatibility among the Russians. The past has vanished; liking and affection spring up between the two peoples and the Franco-Russian alliance seems as if it had always existed.

And yet the two governments before they came to an understanding had long regarded war between the two countries as a natural and a necessary state of things, to be generally accepted in virtue of reasons of state. The governments believed that both nations were bound to hate each other, while the people themselves asked for nothing better than mutual confidence. While the two governments were deciding for war, the two nations were friendly, and neither defeat nor bloodshed nor bitterness has been able to stifle this sentiment.

It was all very well for governments to admit that they were mistaken, but that did not bring back the victims to life and to the service of their country. During a visit I paid to Moscow it seemed as if I were living the trials and sufferings of our unfortunate Grand Army all over again. At least 600,000 men were mobilised for the campaign in Russia. They were drawn from all the countries conquered by France, and they included about 150,000 young conscripts. As the generations fit for service had been wiped out, it was found necessary to lower the age limit and begin to take mere boys who, though brave enough, were physically unable to withstand the fatigues of campaigning.

All these youths had to be marched across Europe as far as the Niemen, and part of them, at least, beyond, over the Russian steppes, only to take part in the climax of the war, the burning of Moscow, the retreat of all the inhabitants carrying away with them all means of subsistence, and the most pitiless of winters, combined with the retreat, coming as the denouément of the tragedy.

My way back to France from Moscow took me over practically the same route as the French troops followed in their retreat. Even in the express train it seemed useless to try to efface painful memories. There were the names of the stations, Borodino, Smolensk, Beresina, all places where our troops had to fight their way back to a hostile Europe, the battle-field of Leipzig, and the final campaign in France.

I saw the snow spread out over the plain like an immense white sheet. Not the least trace of a road was visible for many and many a mile—a waste through which our officers and men, destitute of almost all supplies, had to make their way at any cost. Every day some of the weaker succumbed. Shrouded in ice before they were dead, they were devoured by the crows and wolves. Think of the nights these men passed! Even a night spent in a sleeping-car berth seemed long to me, but what must it have been to them, and what an awakening!

Was it a dream? It seemed to me as if France's children were lying asleep under the snow, and that as the train approached they rose up and held out their arms imploringly. The saddest thing of all was to have no reply to make to their doleful cry: "We died for nothing!"

Baron d'Estournelles' appearance at the universities of California heightened the interest in the peace movement on the Pacific coast. The educational institutions have within the last few years taken a decided stand in favour of pacification among the nations. In this endeavour, President David Starr Jordan

of the Leland Stanford University, has been most conspicuous.

In his books, *The Blood of the Nations* and *The Human Harvest*, President Jordan gives pictures of cruelties and wastefulness. The head of Leland Stanford throws new light on the Napoleonic campaign in Russia and the warfare of the Romans. A frequent speaker before national and international peace congresses, President Jordan made new history at the great Chicago gathering in 1909 with his address on "War and Manhood." He threw an illuminating picture upon the arbitration screen when he said:

The fall of Rome was not due to luxury, effeminacy, corruption, the wickedness of Nero and Caligula, the weakness of the train of Constantine's worthless descendants. It was fixed at Philippi, when the spirit of domination was victorious over the spirit of freedom. It was fixed, still earlier, in the rise of the consuls and triumvirates and the fall of the simple, sturdy, self-sufficient race who could brook no arbitrary ruler.

We read in Roman history of the rise of the mob and of the emperor who is the mob's exponent. It is not the presence of the emperor which makes imperialism. It is the absence of the people, the want of men. Babies in their days have been emperors. A wooden image would serve the same purpose. More than once it has served it.

Whatever the remote or ultimate cause may have been, the immediate cause to which the fall of the empire can be traced is a physical, not a moral, decay. In valour and discipline the Roman armies remained what they had always been, and the peasant emperors of Illyricum were worthy successors of Cincinnatus and Caius Marius. But the problem was how to replenish those armies. Men were wanting. The empire perished for want of men. I need scarcely tell the story of Napoleon's campaign. It began

with the First Consulate, the justice and helpfulness of the Code Napoleon, the prowess of the brave lieutenant whose military skill and intrepidity had caused him to deserve well of his nation. But the spirit of freedom gave way to the spirit of domination. The path of glory is one which descends easily. Campaign followed campaign, against enemies, against neutrals, against friends. The trail of glory crossed the Alps to Italy and to Egypt, crossed Switzerland to Austria, crossed Germany to Russia. Conscription followed victory, and victory and conscription debased the human species. "The human harvest was bad."

The First Consul became the Emperor, the servant of the people, the founder of the dynasty. Again conscription after conscription. "You can always fill the places of soldiers," were among the last words of Napoleon when Dupont surrendered his army in Spain to save his doomed battalions.

It is related that Guizot once asked the question of James Russell Lowell: "How long will the republic endure?" The answer was: "So long as the ideas of its founders remain dominant." Our republic shall endure so long as the human harvest is good, so long as the movement of history, the progress of peace and industry leaves for the future not the worst but the best of each generation. The Republic of Rome lasted so long as there were Romans; the Republic of America will last so long as its people remain free men.

David Starr Jordan's activity in behalf of peace, his ceaseless effort to instil the fundamentals for conciliation in the minds of the students within his institution, his reputation as a speaker and a writer, unquestionably place him in the front rank among American arbitration workers. The history department of the Leland Stanford University furnishes a complete course in all that

pertains to the phases of diplomacy concerning war and peace. There is probably no other individual in America who has studied the question more thoroughly than Prof. E. B. Krehbiel, who holds the chair of history. The several peace societies of California have no stronger allies within the Golden State than the Leland Stanford faculty.

When Edwin Ginn, of Boston, founded the World Peace Foundation as a successor to his International School of Peace, and chose President Jordan chief director, the efficiency of the California educator as a peace advocate must have been well established. David Starr Jordan occupies a position in the United States similar to that held by Baron d'Estournelles de Constant in France, with the exception that the latter makes the political field the arena for his activity, while the president of Leland Stanford holds to the strict educational domain. A frequent visitor abroad, he has been entertained in Paris by Baron d'Estournelles, just as the latter has been the guest at Palo Alto. He was a friend of the late M. Frederic Passy, and from this "father of the peace movement" on the continent has learned many things that he makes applicable to America. The words of caution spoken by President Jordan during the Mexican and Japanese crisis did much to inspire confidence, and made the people of the Pacific coast consider well the tremendous consequence bound to follow any hasty conclusion.

As secretary of both the Southern and the Northern California Peace societies, Robert C. Root, the Pacific coast representative of the American Peace Society, has been instrumental in bringing some of the leading citizens of the State into the movement. Rev. Arthur S. Phelps, pastor of the Central Baptist Church, Los

Angeles, is president of the southern organisation. The executive committee consists of Hon. Robert Watchorn, Rev. Dr. E. P. Ryland, and Professor Mark Keppel, county superintendent of schools. The advisory council is composed of leading churchmen, educators, and business men.

The president of the Northern California Peace Society is Hon. W. Almont Gates, secretary of the State Board of Charities and Corrections, San Francisco. Professor Leon J. Richardson, of the University of California, is first vice-president. The members of the advisory committee are Addison W. Naylor, president First National Bank, Berkeley; Thomas E. Hayden, San Francisco, and Rev. Dr. Charles R. Brown, formerly of Oakland, but now dean of the Divinity School, Yale University. Secretary Root, when not attending peace conventions in other parts of the country, divides his time equally between the two organisations. The Redlands Peace Society has been organised as a branch of the southern society. William C. Allen is president of the Redlands Society. A conspicuous feature of the work during the past year was the organisation of peace sections in the Southern California Teachers' Association, of Los Angeles, and the California State Teachers' Association, at Berkeley. The second annual inter-collegiate peace prize oratorical contest, held at Occidental College, was an event which brought arbitration vividly before the pupils. Within one year Secretary Root delivered 185 addresses on peace before clubs, young people's societies, and churches. The success of Baron d'Estournelles' tour of California was due in no small measure to the persistent efforts of the Pacific coast representative of the American Peace Society in keeping the people interested.

San Francisco naturally expects great things from the Panama Canal Exposition to be held in that city in 1915. When Baron d'Estournelles was there he was asked to use his influence to bring an international peace congress to the Pacific coast during the year of the world's fair. In accepting the honour of becoming San Francisco's "ambassador," he said that no city could be chosen more appropriately than the place which was laid waste a few years ago and had risen to its present splendour as if touched by a magician's wand. The earthquake and the reconstruction furnished Baron d'Estournelles subjects for addresses when he appealed to the commercial interests and asked the leading citizens to make the cause of international conciliation their own. A new business era will dawn with the opening of the Panama Canal and it will require a guarantee of peace here, if anywhere, for the nations of the world to profit by this enterprise. San Francisco will have as many vital interests at stake as any other port in the old world or the new.

Political economist that he is, Baron d'Estournelles must have found the new politics of California a harbinger of such progress as his own policy of conciliation aims to bring about where nations, and not states alone, are concerned. The California movement points directly to an uplift which requires consistent, sane, and unemotional work for its ultimate accomplishment.

In the past the geographical position of the United States has been looked upon as a phase of "splendid isolation" which did not require a too close attention to world politics. In the future, every American citizen will be obliged to keep abreast of those larger issues that arise beyond the immediate boundaries of city, State, or nation.

The tour of Baron d'Estournelles was in every respect an educational campaign. A close student of world affairs, the French Senator was aware that the economic relationship between national productiveness and international peace needed to be explained more fully in this country. But he was gratified to learn that, as in Texas and the other Southern States, so in California the people realised that war leads nowhere. He had succeeded in proving to his audiences that the Japanese peril was a myth, and the most precious souvenir that Baron d'Estournelles carried away with him from the Golden State was the assurance that, if a war cloud had been hovering on the horizon, the reasserted common sense of Californians had been a means for dispelling it.

It was this assuring message that Baron d'Estournelles brought to the citizens of Seattle when a large audience crowded the First Presbyterian Church to hear him on the evening of April 10th. As was to have been expected, the lecture again concerned the Japanese question. Occupying the platform with the French peace advocate were such leaders of the peace movement in the State of Washington as Mayor Dilling, Judge Joseph Shippen, and Rev. M. A. Matthews.

In the Queen Anne Congregational Church, Baron d'Estournelles delivered another address in which he said that, according to President Benjamin Ide Wheeler, of the University of California, virtually every war in which the United States has been engaged could have been avoided. The speaker compared the position of his own country with the Western republic. He again told of Napoleon's march on Moscow with 800,000 men, of which only 20,000 returned. He related how the world's statesmen usually discovered

after the great conflicts that a little common sense could have avoided war. Later, in his address before the University of Washington, he went over the work accomplished by the Hague Court, and he pointed out to the students how influential they could be in helping to shape the work of the third conference, which is to meet in a few years. He repeated what he had said in California, that the empire of the sea exists no more, and that Japan was decidedly anxious to maintain peaceful relations with the United States.

As a result of Baron d'Estournelles' visit to Seattle, the peace workers of Washington decided to perfect a better organisation. At the close of the meeting in the First Presbyterian Church, resolutions to that effect were adopted and a committee to have the matter in charge was appointed as follows: Thomas Burke, chairman; Dr. Thomas F. Kane, Professor Frank B. Cooper, Rev. Sydney Strong, Rev. J. Edgar Williams, H. E. Hadley, C. F. Whaley, Judge Joseph Shippen, and H. L. Sizer.

As President of the Peace Makers of the State of Washington, Charles F. Whaley conceived an idea which should be a fitting climax to the one-hundred-years Anglo-American peace celebration. The plan is for the erection of a peace monument at the northwest corner of the State of Washington, at Boundary Bluff, on Point Roberts. Mr. Whaley's proposition is for the governments of the United States and Canada to each donate a strip of land at least a mile wide, on each side of the boundary, as an international park. The monument is to be built by popular subscription. The two governments are to be asked to appropriate each $100,000 for the purchase and improvement of the land, and to appoint a joint committee to carry out

the project. The monument is to be a shaft 112 feet high, and, according to the specifications, is to be

surmounted by a crystal globe twelve feet in diameter, upon the surface of which will be displayed all countries of the world, in colours, and lighted from within. The shaft is to be twenty-four feet at the base and twelve feet at the top, divided into ten rooms with steel and concrete floors, connected by iron stairways from within and lighted by central electric lights suspended from each ceiling.

It is the intention to make this monument serve as a museum, like the Bloch Museum at Lucerne, Switzerland.

The officers of the Peacemakers of the State of Washington are Charles F. Whaley, president; Charles Eugene Banks, secretary; C. W. Scarff, treasurer. Mr. Banks is also the editor of *The Peace Pipe*, which dainty publication has a forcible way of showing its readers that its aim is universal peace among mankind. A valued member of the Washington organisation is Hon. Thomas Burke, a member of the board of trustees of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Oregon is working closely with Washington for the education of the Northern Pacific country in the doctrines of arbitration. The Oregon Peace Society has for its president Judge John B. Cleland, and the secretary is William H. Galvani, of Portland. Baron d'Estournelles was the guest of the society for the few hours he stayed in Portland, but he did not deliver any addresses in the city as he was merely passing through on his way from Seattle to Salt Lake City.

CHAPTER VI

JAPAN'S FRIENDSHIP AND CO-OPERATION

Peace Societies Increasing in the Island Empire—Andrew Carnegie Lends a Hand—The Influence of Count Okuma for a Better Understanding between the Nations—Newspapers Universally in Favour of International Arbitration—The Work in the Universities—Former Ambassador O'Brien's Labours while the American Representative Was at Tokio—Recent American Internationalists in Japan—The Late Dr. DeForest in the Oriental Field—The Present Activity of Gilbert Bowles as Secretary of Japanese Peace Societies—Dr. Jordan on What He Experienced in the East—Senator Works of California, in Favour of International Arbitration but Wants Individuals to Hold to the Golden Rule.

THE strength which the peace movement of Japan has exhibited in recent years is directly traceable to efforts by patriotic Americans who, either individually or as representing peace organisations in the United States, have taken the international message of goodwill across the Pacific. There is no better vantage point from which to view the oriental arbitration movement than California. All of the distinguished men of this country who have within the last few years visited the empire of the East for the purpose of conciliating the powers facing each other across the great water, have considered the interests of the Pacific coast country in bringing home their arguments for Japanese-American amity.

In connection with the conciliatory spirit which is now evident on the Pacific coast, it is of the utmost

W. Almont Gates,
President Northern California Peace Society.

Dr. Arthur S. Phelps,
President Southern California Peace Society.
Photo by Mushet, Los Angeles, Cal.

significance to find, then, that on the opposite side of the Pacific the Mikado's subjects have not been remiss in furthering the international relationship with the United States. Several Japanese peace societies have been active in spreading much valuable information and removing misinformation that had no other excuse for its existence than ignorance of existing facts. Jingoism in Japan, it is true, has had much to feed upon within the past few years, and it has required persistent work to undo what certain obstructionists had placed in the way of governmental efforts.

No more earnest advocate of peace is found in any country than Count Okuma, founder and patron of Waseda University. That he is a friend of Andrew Carnegie, and has found this friendship invaluable to his policy of peace, merely accentuates the fact that the Japanese statesman-educator is setting an example for the students of the university. On the authority of the *Hochi*, the Tokio newspaper, it is stated that Mr. Carnegie is taking more than a passing interest in the Japanese peace movement. In fact, according to an interview with a representative of the *Hochi*, Count Okuma said:

> While I do not wish at this moment to say anything definite about a donation, I may say that I am informed through a friend of Mr. Carnegie of the philanthropist's intention to extend financial aid to our university. I shall certainly be pleased to accept the generous proffer if Mr. Carnegie's motive is to assist the work of the university, and to strengthen the bond of friendship that has bound America and Japan during the past half-century.

Advices from Japan were to the effect that Mr. Carnegie proposed to donate $1,000,000 to Waseda

University. The *Hochi* was not alone in acclaiming the gift and the donor, for the papers of Tokio, with exceptions, voiced their praise of the American who few desired to link the two nations closer by means of education. The *Jiji*, which has considerable influence among Japanese financiers and business men, spoke of Mr. Carnegie's proposed act as something it would be well for the wealthy Japanese themselves to emulate. It is quite true that Count Okuma has at times been classed as opposed to the United States because he opposed the Japanese-American agreement relative to the exclusion of emigrants from his country. At the same time the Count is the organiser of the Peace Society of Japan and has been its president since its establishment. The *Yorodzu* tells its readers that when Henry George, Jr., called on Count Okuma some years ago, the Japanese statesman expressed himself unreservedly on the question of international peace. It is intimated that Mr. Carnegie's interest is due to what he learned from friends of Mr. George, and that subsequently he made the offer to assist in promoting the activities of the university, of which Count Okuma is the head.

It is plain that with the most influential newspapers of the empire favouring a conciliatory policy, the peace propaganda has nothing to fear from the press of the island domain. The visit to America of Waseda University Baseball Nine may have no direct bearing on international amity, but it indicates how the spirit of the times is making itself felt. The meeting of the Japanese college youths with those of the American institutions was bound to result in acquaintanceship that will count.

Japan has done a great deal to infuse the doctrine of

the new internationalism into the school and college curriculums. The leading educators stand for peace at almost any cost short of what belongs to national dignity and honour. When Baron d'Estournelles visits the Orient on a speaking tour similar to that of the United States, he will find the way paved for him. One of the foremost arbitration advocates of Japan is Dr. Inazo Nitobe, President of the First Higher College of Tokio, who visited the United States in 1911. Dr. Toykichi Iyenega, now of Chicago University, is another Japanese educator who in his own country and in America and Europe has taken a determined stand against any other policy but one that is pacific in its intentions.

In Tokio, the newspapers are doing a praiseworthy work in bringing their readers to a realisation of the obligations which rest upon the nation in the present day of advancement. When the agitation against the United States was at its height, both the *Japan Times* and the *Japan Advertiser* issued disclaimers that any actual "Americaphobia" was rampant in the islands. *Haeiwa*, the monthly magazine published in Tokio, some months ago devoted an entire issue to the discussion of international peace. The leading feature was the first instalment of Baroness Bertha von Suttner's *Lay Down Your Arms*. Translated from the German into Japanese, this famous story, compared in its effect to Mrs. Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, made a powerful impression upon the readers in the capital of the empire.

There has been added to Eastern peace literature since the formation of the Japanese branch of the International Peace Forum, an official organ of the organisation for the East. The *Peace Forum* should enable

many people of the Japanese empire to understand more completely the reasons for the establishment of such a branch. In The *Peace Forum* for April, 1912, some of the noteworthy contributions are articles by President Taft, Henry Satoh, and others. The magazine is printed in both English and Japanese. There is considerable in the issue about the effect of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition in its relation to peace.

Of especial interest is the account of the annual meeting of the American Peace Society of Japan. The meeting was held in Yokohama, February 15th. D. H. Blake, president of the society, was in the chair. Col. Charles P. Bryan, the American ambassador to Japan, was among the many Americans, residing in the empire, who had come. Ambassador Bryan said:

> Peace—word of welcome sound. Few there are possessing such charm. Home, perhaps,—but what is home without peace? How to avert misunderstandings that may culminate in war to-day is the chief aim of our greatest minds. Arbitral tribunals and treaties, Carnegie benefactions, peace envoys, have wrought much good. To abet every such effort and prepare the way for the peace propaganda, those sympathisers with the movement who are in active service should bend their earnest endeavours toward creating a substantial basis of common interests and good feeling between the nations. Of course, commercial and other business investments create relations that cannot be shaken by passing whims or disturbed by jingo alarmists. . . . The visits of prominent Japanese, like Mr. Shimada, to America, and of eminent Americans to Japan, have, as Viscount Uchida lately remarked in the Diet, made a desirable impression in both countries. The exchange of professors contemplated by the Carnegie endowment will further promote this reciprocal educational benefit.

The American Peace Society of Japan at this meeting decided to inaugurate a movement in that foreigners in the empire could more easily obtain a working knowledge of the native language.

The officers of the society are as follows: president, E. W. Frazar, Yokohama; vice-presidents, D. H. Blake, Rev. T. Roseberry Good, Yokohama; Prof. H. T. Terry, Tokio; H. S. Wheeler, Kobe; Dr. S. L. Gulick, Kyoto; Rev. W. K. Weakley, Osaka; Prof. W. A. Venable, Kunsan, Korea; Dr. D. B. Schneider, Sendai; J. M. Gardiner. The treasurer is J. R. Geary, Yokohama, and the secretary is Gilbert Bowles.

A distinctly American-Japanese organisation, the American Peace Society of Japan will some day write its history in large letters in the annals of world unity. As yet scarcely out of its infant's clothes, it has accomplished much.

It was at a meeting in the Foreign Board of Trade rooms, Yokohama, on Monday, January 30, 1911, that a number of American citizens, resident in Japan, gathered for the purpose of forming a peace society. The then American ambassador, Thomas J. O'Brien, and many representatives of the diplomatic and consular service were present. Following organisation, the officers elected were D. H. Blake, president; Gilbert Bowles, secretary; J. R. Geary, treasurer. The vice-presidents chosen were E. W. Frazar, Professor H. S. Terry, B. C. Howard, Rev. T. R. Good, and Dr. D. C. Greene. The society opened with a charter membership of about 200 from various parts of Japan and Korea. The speech of Mr. O'Brien was commented on extensively by the press of Yokohama and Tokio. It evidenced that while he was speaking in his official capacity, as the representative of the United

States, the American Ambassador spoke advisedly when he said:

There is no cause under the sun why there should be distrust between the people of these two countries. There are no questions of importance pending, and no business being conducted diplomatically, which should excite the suspicions or make the slightest trouble as between the two peoples. In the absence of something more startling, and judging, perhaps, civilisation by recent past history, it was easy to make our people think that Japan was a blood-thirsty nation, that it wanted territory, and wanted war with the United States. I think this idea is being gradually worn out, and that with the advent of peaceful sentiments, and with those sentiments stimulated, the idea of suspecting our neighbours will be a thing of the past.

We are at the close of the first decade of a new century, and we would be doing badly indeed if, with our boasted civilisation, the century should proceed much farther without having accomplished the great purpose of unlimited arbitration. To-day the civil courts and the officers of the court are able to give those who have controversies with their neighbours such remedies and such satisfaction as they are entitled to receive. The nations can do the same, and nations will do the same in the near future.

The controversies submitted to arbitration will at least have brought to their elucidation the intellects of trained lawyers and men of prominence drawn from all the nations who constitute the Court and have no personal interest in the outcome. It will be a sad thing, indeed, if this generation shall fail to take advantage of the sentiments now fast accruing and shall fail to accomplish this work of peace.

Other peace organisations in Japan besides the American Peace Society, and the society of which Count Okuma is president, are the Osaka Peace Society, the Miyagi Peace Society, and the Kobe Peace Society.

The three last mentioned are branches of the Japan Peace Society.

The visits to the island empire during 1911 of Dr. David Starr Jordan, Dr. John Wesley Hill, and Hamilton Holt, editor of the *Independent*, resulted in an awakening of the people to the benefit that would accrue to them were they to possess themselves more thoroughly of the knowledge of what the American nation was doing to foster complete harmony with Japan. But after all it is the Americans living among the Japanese who are demonstrating the real effectiveness of international friendship. And no man has done more for the preservation of amity between his home country and the land of his choosing than Gilbert Bowles, of the Philadelphia Friends' Mission, Tokio.

William T. Ellis, writing not long ago in the *Review of Reviews*, describes how this missionary has carried the gospel of good-will among the Orientals.

Japan is a jingoistic and warlike nation [wrote Mr. Ellis]. It has always been pre-eminently military. Unlike China, it has never produced a great philosopher, but it has had many great warriors. The valour and patriotism of the people are of world-wide repute. This land of fine fighters would seem like stony ground for a peace propaganda. None the less, all close observers know that a great change has come over the spirit of Japan within a decade. There is now a peace party that is not only respectable but powerful as well. The Japan Peace Society is a national force to-day, with many of the best names in the empire on its roll. The explanation is, primarily, Gilbert Bowles and the trend of the times. He and his fellow-Quakers established the society, keeping well in the background themselves.

While Mr. Bowles holds a pre-eminent position as American peace worker in Japan, the name of the late

Dr. J. H. DeForest will recall to those who knew his work a champion unexcelled in the domain of friendship during his long residence in the East. Dr. De Forest's place is secure in American missionary history as one who laboured unceasingly for the advancement of international harmony. His address before the American Peace Society on "The Conditions of Peace between the East and the West" is considered a classic of its kind. Stationed at Sendai, Dr. DeForest won the admiration of Japan to the degree that the Mikado conferred upon him the Fourth Order of the Rising Sun for his conspicuous service in the furtherance of peace between the two nations.

After his return from Japan, Dr. David Starr Jordan received through the Japanese Consul-General at San Francisco the Meiji Order of the Sacred Treasure as a token of high esteem conveyed by the Emperor. This is the highest honour ever conferred by the Japanese ruler upon any one not a citizen of his empire. But the reception which met the head of Leland Stanford University during his trip of the empire in the interest of the World Peace Foundation was a telling demonstration of the fact that on his mission he was accomplishing something definite.

Returning to the United States, President Jordan was enthusiastic over what he had experienced in Japan. On his arrival at San Francisco he said:

I found the opinion of intelligent people in Japan in regard to war very much the same as with the same classes in the United States. There is very little of the spirit of war for war's sake in any civilised country to-day, and less of it in Japan than in most countries. There was great demand for lectures on the case against war and war debt. I spoke to mass-meetings in Tokio, Yokohama, Sendai,

Karuizawa, Osaka, Kobe, Nagoya, Okayama, Kyoto, and Fusan. Among other things I tried to show that no nation ever had a great army, a great navy, a great war debt, and prosperity all at one time. A nation may have any two of these but not all four at once.

A great many people, wicked or foolish, in different parts of the world, are trying to talk up a war between the United States and Japan. As to this, I can only say that such a war is impossible so long as common sense and common decency continue to rule in both nations. In brief, Japan recognises in America her best customer and nearest friend. Her own interests lie wholly in Asia, in the permeation and absorption of Korea—a costly piece of work; and in safeguarding her investments in South Manchuria. She has nothing to spend on international war.

Japan is spending money cautiously on military and naval preparation. Like all other great nations she is spending more than she can afford, in order to be in the current and to guard against surprises, real or imaginary. She neither desires nor expects war from any quarter, and she has no apparent intention of aggression in any direction. But, like other nations, she is occasionally taken unawares by the professional makers of war scares.

Had Dr. Jordan remained in Japan until the assembling of the Diet, he would have seen that, no matter how much the nation is trying to keep down military and naval expenditures, the international pressure for supremacy had resulted in a budget including $200,000,000 for new Dreadnoughts. That the people, however, only submit to extra taxation because they are obliged to is evident from all that has come out of the island empire of late.

Senator John Works, of California, is not one who is optimistic enough to think that arbitration treaties alone will help in ushering in the millennium. At the

same time, when Senator Works addressed the Senate on February 8th, he stated emphatically that he favoured the ratification of the treaties negotiated with Great Britain and France. The California progressive said that the question "touched the peace and happiness of the people of three great nations." He went farther and added that "peace is not a question of nations, but of men. The whole mass must be leavened, the people themselves regenerated, and peace, justice, and love established in the minds of the people themselves, in their relations with each other, before peace between nations can be reached."

Among the noted Americans who were singled out in 1912 to lead the East to America's way of thinking on the arbitration question, undoubtedly Dr. Charles W. Eliot, President-emeritus of Harvard University, occupies a foremost place. Dr. Eliot had his Eastern visit interrupted by illness, but when he resumed his voyage, and finally entered upon his task in the Orient, he discharged his function with that characteristic thoroughness that he employed for so many years successfully as the head of the great New England institution.

In Shanghai, on April 2d, Dr. Eliot spoke on "The Cause of International Peace and its Application to the Advancement of Learning." He said that, as one of the trustees of the Carnegie endowment for international peace, he was on a tour of inquiry. The hope was uppermost in the Western world, Dr. Eliot said, that China would possess a stable government, and he added that education was the only solution of the governmental problem.

That racial or religious differences cannot stand as bars to international fellowship must have impressed

itself upon the former president of Harvard University. Heretofore, more wars have been conducted on religious or national grounds than for any other reason, except where mere conquest was the issue. In America, fortunately, there has been a general awakening to the folly of warfare for any cause.

Even while Dr. Eliot went to the Far East as an emissary of the Carnegie Endowment it is a question whether this eminent scholar's tour of the Orient can be put in the same class with those of other leading Americans who have recently visited Japan and China. Dr. Eliot was quoted, both while en route home and when arriving at San Francisco, to the effect that the great nations are not in favor of disarmament and that "peace is most desired by those who cannot fight; international disarmament is either scornfully ignored or openly poohpoohed. International or national peace is not taken seriously by the leaders of the more important peoples."

It should, of course, be remembered that Dr. Eliot said himself that he went to the East as an investigator. He need, therefore, not be classed as a decided propagandist. In the Boston *Post* Edwin D. Mead, the Secretary of the World Peace Foundation, in commenting on Dr. Eliot's tour said:

Always of the broadest international interests and sympathies, President Eliot's mind has more and more in the last half dozen years been focused upon the problems of disarmament and better world organization. No other has drawn more impressive lessons from our unguarded Canadian frontier or reminded us more effectively that the way for nations to be safe is to act like gentlemen; and no one has better pointed out a wiser use of public money, even for national security, than its present extravagant waste upon multiplying battleships. President Eliot's

political thought extends beyond the limits of the State and nation and has for years been turning in ever increased measure to international affairs and what concerns the order of the world.

Mr. Mead freely expressed his admiration for Dr. Eliot's services to the nations and he by no means minimised the importance of the mission to the East. He cited numerous occasions upon which the Harvard President-emeritus had made masterful addresses dealing with international harmony and considered it a decided acquisition that the peace movement had obtained his services.

The most recent important visitor to Japan from the United States was Secretary of State Knox whose mission, while concerning his attendance as the special representive of President Taft at the funeral of the late Emperor, was as distinct a peace move as could be conceived. No American high official has been more energetic in cementing the friendship between the two powers facing the Pacific. Mr. Knox's going to Japan was looked upon as a delicate compliment to the nation as well as evidence of the esteem which the President felt for Mutsuhito with whom he was personally acquainted. The American government could not have shown a more friendly spirit toward a friendly nation than in having Mr. Knox visit Tokyo on the auspicious occasion of the imperial obsequies. The Secretary of State implied by his presence that the United States stood ready to fulfil every obligation so that this country and Japan should remain forever friendly and in co-operation.

VII

NO CREED IN BROTHERHOOD

How All Denominations Met in the Salt Lake City Temple to Honour the Event which Spelled International Fellowship—The University of Utah Co-operating—History of Utah State Peace Society—Meetings in Denver and Colorado Springs—Emperor William Considered a Peace Worker—National Development Needs International Harmony—Patriotic Societies Unite to Welcome Baron d'Estournelles to Colorado—The American School Peace League Had First Convention in Denver—Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews Secretary of the League—Her Work Abroad in the Interest of the Movement.

A REMARKABLE demonstration in favour of world pacification took place at Salt Lake City during the few hours Baron d'Estournelles was in that place on his way eastward from the Pacific coast. Denominational lines were obliterated so as to make all the people join for the time in a matter that vitally concerned every citizen of Utah. The coming of the French statesman was the climax to a peace activity which has been gathering force with each year, and when the wonderful organ of the great Temple rang out its welcome to those who had met within its walls to hear the international message that the over-sea visitor brought with him, it was one of the most inspiring events in the municipal history of Salt Lake City.

Governor William Spry of Utah introduced the peace advocate whose tour of the Pacific Coast States had been heralded. Baron d'Estournelles expressed his

appreciation of the unexpected welcome extended him. He gave a short account of his mission to America, how he had met with the most unprecedented cordiality in quarters where the question of international arbitration seldom reached serious discussion, and how the United States not only had achieved much in the direction of pacificatory settlements of disputes, but how it devolved on this nation to continue to lead all the nations onward.

In a similar strain, Baron d'Estournelles spoke to the students of the University of Utah. The entire student body was present. President Joseph T. Kingsbury presided. Governor Spry again extended the welcome, this time of the educational institution of the State. Among those on the platform were many members of the faculty, and Rabbi Charles Freund. As in the Mormon Temple, denominational lines were set aside in an effort to bring the various religious bodies under the banner that has for an emblem the dove and the olive branch.

War is not only wicked, but it is foolish [the French peace worker told the university assemblage]. The progress of humanity indicates that it will end some time, but no man knows how soon. Giving almost my whole attention to this question, I see encouraging indications for peace. Within the last five years there has been a tremendous advance in all subjects pertaining to the welfare of humanity.

World peace is the most important of these subjects and is interesting the best thinkers of all nations. America, I believe, has more advocates of peace than any other nation. Friends of peace in the United States have written me thousands of letters, and hundreds of Americans have called upon me in France. They urged me to come to America because I was a worker in our international peace society.

When I arrived in New York I was amazed to learn that the American branch of this society has outgrown the parent society. I am not sorry, but glad that this is true. Our society aims at peace for the whole world, instead of for any particular nation.

Baron d'Estournelles reviewed the international relations existing between the United States and Japan, and again emphasised his belief that war between the two nations was impossible. He advanced specific reasons why neither of the countries could afford to hamper their economic development by severing existing friendships.

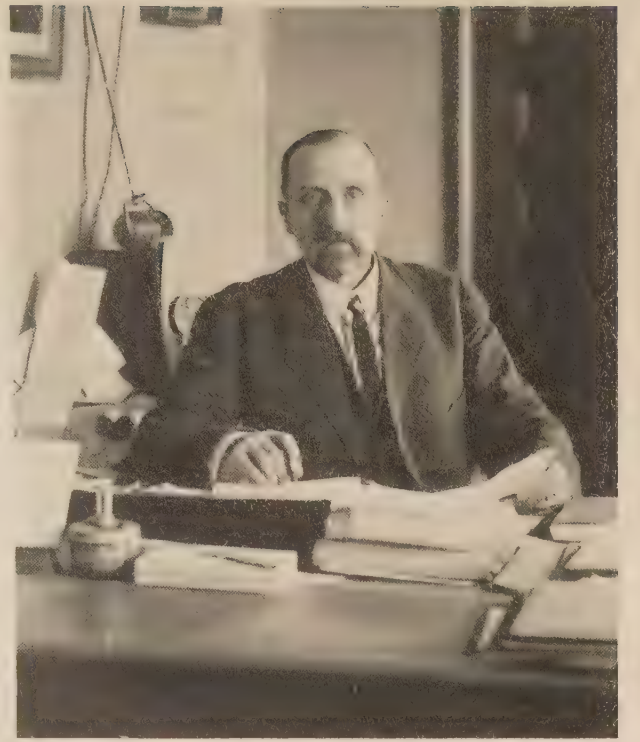
The history of the Utah State Peace Society has as one of its most interesting chapters the mass-meeting held in the Tabernacle on the nineteenth of May, 1907, when speakers of several denominations advocated the formation of a State peace society, and resolutions were passed requesting the governor of the commonwealth to appoint a committee to draw a constitution for such a society.

On May 17th the following year, another meeting was held, this time in the First Congregational Church, when the Utah State Peace Society was organised with Governor John C. Cutler as president; Dean Brewster, of St. Mark's Episcopal Cathedral as first vice-president, and Rabbi Charles Freund as second vice-president. The directors were John Henry Smith, Mrs. F. S. Richards, Mrs. J. B. Cosgriff, Mrs. W. V. Rice, Judge J. E. Frick, of the Supreme Court of Utah; Rev. P. A. Simpkin, pastor of the Philips Congregational Church, and N. P. Stathakos. The present secretary of the society is J. M. Sjodahl, editor of the Deseret *News*.

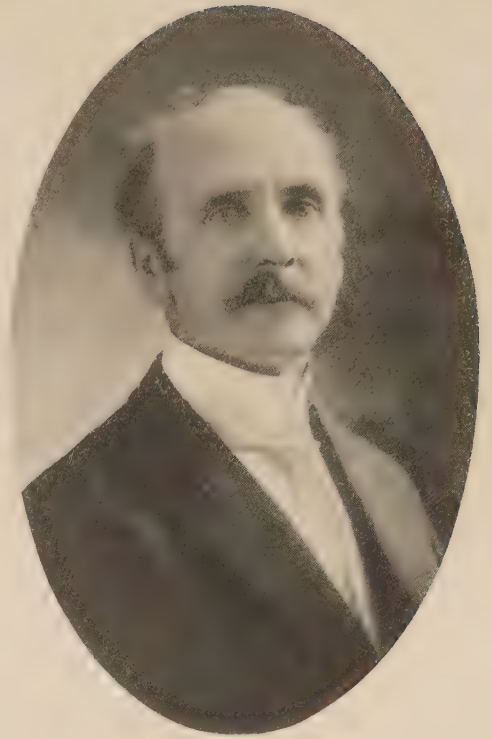
Subsequently to the organisation of the State society, branches were established in Provo and Logan. Interest in peace work has been steadily on the increase throughout Utah. Meetings have been held in several places. One of the most successful meetings was held in the Jewish Synagogue, May 16, 1909, when a resolution was adopted authorising the president of the society to address the government and ask it to take whatever action it deemed advisable with a view to creating a sentiment in favour of the arbitration of all international differences.

Baron d'Estournelles delivered his first address in Colorado, where he arrived April 15th, in Colorado Springs. The guest of President Slocum of Colorado College, he spoke in Perkins Hall on the new internationalism. He dwelt in particular on the influence of the Hague Tribunal, gave a résumé of what it had accomplished to date, and appealed to his audience that those interested in American progress do all in their power to sustain the government in its efforts to join the nations into a bond of unlimited arbitration.

At the University of Colorado, where Baron d'Estournelles made his second address in the State, a large audience had gathered to hear him. Describing the growth of the movement, and emphasising the remarkable development of the peace idea among the masses, he said that one of the factors which had brought Europe to the realisation of American disinterestedness was the munificence of Andrew Carnegie in furnishing the Hague Court with a splendid home. If the almost half a hundred States in the United States can dwell in harmony, he said, each pursuing its course along certain well-defined lines, and yet parts of the national whole, he saw no reason why the forty-four civilised



J. M. Sjodahl,
Secretary Utah Peace Society, Publisher *Deseret News*, Salt Lake City.



Ex-Governor John C. Cutler, of Utah,
President Utah Peace Society.

nations in the world could not attain international harmony by abolishing war and the terrors of conflict.

In Denver, arrangements for the entertainment of the French diplomatist had resulted in a programme which kept Baron d'Estournelles busy from the moment he entered the city. The governor of the commonwealth bid him welcome on behalf of the representative citizens in every walk of life. Governor Shafroth, in his introduction of the visitor, said that universal peace was now no longer a matter of fantastic desire, but a necessity. The agreement between Great Britain and the United States, at the close of the War of 1812, by which the two nations bound themselves to maintain no navy of importance on the Great Lakes and Lake Champlain, the governor looked upon, he said, as a significant beginning of disarmament.

Replying, Baron d'Estournelles said that what the Colorado executive had cited with reference to the two great Anglo-Saxon nations might be applied to all of the great powers.

I am sure the German Emperor is in favour of peace [he said]. This in spite of the fact that he is constantly preparing for war. England is in favour of peace. All civilised nations want peace. They say all this talk about universal peace is a dream. But we are not asleep. Wars in the future must be avoided, can be avoided. The greatest opposition we have to overcome is the deep ignorance that will make it out that war is necessary.

We must save to the people the great sums of money that are spent in preparation for war. But we are under much greater obligation to save our young men who are sacrificed in war. In this country you need development. There are highways and railroads to be built. The farms are to be made more fertile and productive.

I admire the splendid things that your young country has done for the world. But many things remain to be done. I know you will take it kindly if I remind you what some of them are. The improvement of your waterways is one thing that must be done in the interest of your commerce. I saw your Mississippi River, probably the noblest stream in the world, and was shocked to see that it was scarcely navigable. And it would not be far wrong to say that you have no roads at all.

Perhaps you think that when you start on a trip over your magnificent mountains you are travelling on roads. But it is not so. The country itself is not a road. Portions of the countryside must be developed carefully along road-making lines. What is the good of your great railway systems if your people are not able to reach the depots with their products?

Early in his campaign of education about the benefits of peace, Baron d'Estournelles had made reference to the lack of good highways in this country. His observations in the South led him to believe this was a crying need. As he progressed on his tour, his impressions gathered force, and when he reached Colorado he was convinced that satisfactory roads are still a negligible quantity in many sections of the country.

The development of worthy projects suffers when your money is being spent on excessive military equipment [he said]. Just think, the cost of a single Dreadnought is sufficiently large to place your entire irrigation industry on a solid foundation. But you are energetic and I am very glad to hear that you are making progress in road building, or are, at least, thinking about this important subject. Good roads are big factors making for peace.

At the meeting and luncheon in honour of Baron d'Estournelles in Denver, he told more than 1250

business men many things that it is the province of the chamber of commerce to consider. While speaking about the national need, he referred to what the international movement for peace had accomplished. Later he appeared before the Colorado Legislature, for which purpose a special joint session had been called.

"I am confident," he said to the members of the Legislature, "that this is the first time that a representative of the French government has had the opportunity to address a foreign parliament as 'ladies and gentlemen.' You have much to teach us. This latest phase in legislative work is deeply interesting," he added, referring to the four women members of the Colorado House of Representatives.

At the close of the address to the legislators he asked many questions of the women members. He was deeply interested when told that the principal matters which occupied their attention were bills in which their sex was concerned, such as the woman's eight-hour law, the child labour measure, and matter pertaining to the public schools.

As for the Denver Chamber of Commerce, the committee in charge of arrangements consisted of Henry Van Kleek, chairman; E. A. Peters, W. P. McPhee, Thomas Keeley, John McDonough, William E. Bates, and Secretary Thorndike Deland. As a result of Baron d'Estournelles' talk to the members, plans were later perfected for the organisation of a committee on international conciliation to work in conjunction with the American Association for International Conciliation. Few American municipalities have been more active in publicity work than Denver. If the Chamber of Commerce, which inspires this publicity policy, becomes a factor in the peace propaganda in Colorado, the

national movement will be augmented by a progressive element of value.

Four local patriotic societies combined to help Denver extend its welcome to Baron d'Estournelles, and when this was done something very unexpectedly took place in the Colorado city. For the first time since their organisation, the Sons and Daughters of the Revolution and the Sons and Daughters of the American Revolution met for the identical purpose when the rival societies tendered the distinguished Frenchman a banquet at the Albany Hotel. Having been for years metaphorical at swords' points, the members of the organisations considered the advent of Baron d'Estournelles a fitting moment to establish peace among themselves.

The French arbitration worker did not neglect to take advantage of the unique fact that the Revolutionary societies had come together. He congratulated the assemblage on the happy circumstance, he said, that conciliation had proved so effective in their case. He directed the attention of his listeners to the further fact that nations should have no greater difficulty adjusting their differences than where mere organisations are concerned.

James C. Starkweather, president of the Sons of the Revolution, was the toastmaster of the evening. Among the speakers were Governor Shafroth, Lieutenant-Governor Fitzgerald, Mayor Speer, and Justice Campbell. The committees in charge of arrangements were as follows: Sons of the Revolution, William N. Vaile, Dr. Paul S. Hunter, John W. Barrows, Dr. George B. Vosburgh; Daughters of the Revolution, Mrs. Charles H. Jacobson, Mrs. Helen M. Wixson, Mrs. Ralph Vorhees, Mrs. Edward H. Park, Mrs. J. V. Rush; Sons of the American

Revolution, Dr. Elmer E. Higley, B. H. Brooks, Dr. John H. Houghton, Dr. Clarkson N. Guyer, Wardner Williams; Daughters of the American Revolution, Mrs. Sam M. Perry, Mrs. J. W. Brunton, Mrs. George B. Packard, Mrs. John M. Maxwell, Mrs. S. McMurtrie.

The happy idea of bringing the various patriotic societies together was due in a measure to the efforts of Wardner Williams, the president of the Denver Patriotic League. Mr. Williams has for some time been conspicuous in arbitration work. He represented Colorado at the conference of the American Society for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes, held in Cincinnati last year, and he was also Governor Shafroth's appointee to represent the commonwealth at the Third National Peace Congress, held in Baltimore. His influence for a better understanding of the principles of world-unity has been considerable.

Colorado had no organised peace society at the time of the French conciliator's visit to Denver and Colorado Springs. But there have been a number of agencies at work which tend strongly in that direction. The women of Colorado and adjoining commonwealths have been valuable aids through channels scarcely less significant. The teachers have made use of the American School Peace League which organisation has ramifications extending through the length and breadth of the country.

Charles E. Chadsey, Superintendent of Public Schools of Denver, is president of the Colorado branch of the League and has done as much as any other single individual in America to make May 18th, Peace Day, an event of importance to the schools in this country. But there is one other reason why Denver and the American School Peace League are closely linked.

The first annual convention of the league took place in the Colorado city, and not only the municipality and the commonwealth, but the inter-mountain States generally, date their interest in the peace movement from the summer of 1909. The convention proved educative to a degree. Since then the school children in the Western and Northwestern States as well as in the Southern States have come to learn that when the teachers bring them together on May 18th each year, the event is in commemoration of the meeting of the First Hague Conference.

Meeting annually in connection with the National Educational Association, the American School Peace League has the complete co-operation of the members of the Association. At Chicago in 1912 at San Francisco during 1911, as at Boston or Denver in the years preceding, the leading educators of the country aided in every way possible the School Peace League.

The secretary of the American School Peace League is Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews. The efficiency of the League is due in a large measure to Mrs. Andrews' efforts. With headquarters in Boston, the League conducts its campaign along specific lines. The report of the secretary, read during the convention at Chicago gave evidence that the branches are fast multiplying.

As Baron d'Estournelles came in touch with the teachers and others interested in the work of the School Peace League, it must have been particularly interesting for him to recall that it was the First National Peace Congress, held in New York in 1907, that furnished the occasion for his début as a conciliation speaker before American audiences and that the same occasion gave birth to the League. Organisation was effected the following year, and leading educators of the country

affiliated themselves with the League. From the start Mrs. Andrews' remarkable field work brought results. With Professor James H. Van Sickle of Baltimore as president, the branches have as presidents, vice-presidents, and directors in the various States, men and women foremost in the field of education. The literature of the League is notable for its comprehensiveness and breadth. Account is taken of the requirements of the smaller children, as well as the larger boys and girls and their elders. Baron d'Estournelles frequently expressed surprise while in America that so much could have been accomplished by the organisation within the few years it has been in existence.

There is one phase of the League's activity which made a decided appeal to the French peace worker, namely, the internationalism which is now occupying those connected with the inner workings of the school organisation. For the purpose of fostering a spirit of international friendship among teachers and pupils, Mrs. Andrews was sent abroad during the summer of 1910 and again in 1911. In 1910 she visited Scandinavia, France, Germany, Belgium, Holland, and England. Mrs. Andrews' objective point was Stockholm and the International Peace Congress in session in the Swedish capital. Here a resolution was passed expressing approval of the methods of the American School Peace League, and a movement was set on foot for the co-operation of educational institutions in Europe and America.

CHAPTER VIII

THE FARMER AS A PEACE ALLY

Grain-Growing States Rallying to the Support of the Movement—Contribution of Lincoln, Neb.—The Newly-Formed Nebraska State Peace Society—The Author of "The Prince of Peace"—Pledge of the National Grange—Where the American School Peace League is Doing Effective Work—Prof. Greenwood on "Saving Nations to Themselves"—The Propaganda in Kansas City—Missourians Pay Tribute to the French Conciliationist who Told Them Things They Did Not Know.

NO peace organisation in the United States was ever effected under more auspicious circumstances than those which attended the meeting at Lincoln, Neb., on February 5th, of this year, when the Nebraska Peace Society was formed as a branch of the American Peace Society. There is little doubt that this was partly an outcome of the presence in Lincoln, almost a year before, of Baron d'Estournelles, whose plea for international co-operation thoroughly aroused the citizens. One of the principal speakers on the day of organisation was Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch, of Chicago, who ridiculed the oft-made statement that war is necessary to the preservation of manhood.

Charles E. Beals, field secretary of the American Peace Society for the Middle West, was a speaker whose experience went to show that the time was ripe for a concerted movement throughout the country. President Taft, Andrew Carnegie, and others sent congratula-

tions upon the formation of the society. Professor George Elliot Howard was elected president, A. L. Weatherly, secretary-treasurer, and William Jennings Bryan was made honorary president.

The vice-presidents of the Nebraska Peace Society are Victor Rosewater, H. H. Baldridge, A. L. Sutton, Mrs. E. A. Johnson, Omaha; Chancellor Samuel Avery, the State University; Chancellor C. A. Fulmer, Wesleyan University; Chancellor William Oesegher, Cotner University; Bishop Tihen, A. J. Sawyer, Mrs. A. E. Sheldon, C. S. Allen, Lincoln; F. M. Currie, Broken Bow; Rev. E. A. Worthy, Wilber; Charles Wooster, Silver Creek; E. L. Kink, Osceola.

In view of what took place at Lincoln almost a year following Baron d'Estournelles' visit to the city, it is of interest to glance over the happenings on the day when the noted internationalist in a measure planted the seed in Nebraskan soil for the organisation of a State peace society.

No mere platitudes would have been able to hold the attention of the many Nebraskans who assembled to learn for themselves what all this talk about universal peace and arbitration really amount to. But the moment the introductory speech had been made by Chancellor Samuel Avery, the gathering was made aware that here was something which concerned them directly. If good roads and good crops and general prosperity for Nebraska were resultants of arbitration with the powers of the world, then only those undesirous of bringing about these conditions could wish for war, was the preliminary comment.

Giving a general outline of what permanent peace would mean to the agricultural commonwealths of the whole nation, Baron d'Estournelles spoke especially

with reference to the great needs of the individual States as parts of the whole. He made his appeal, he said, to the younger people. He desired them to investigate for themselves, put the suppositional glory of conquest on the battlefield against the unquestionable reward that peaceful pursuits brought with them.

Make better use of your money [the speaker said]. Do not follow in the old track of European folly which Europe itself would abolish if it knew how. You must not break in on your wonderful development where there is yet so much to be done. I have spoken again and again about the absence of good highways in this country. What I said elsewhere applies to Nebraska. With the money that is being spent for comparatively useless purposes you could construct the most magnificent system of roads in the world. Your people and mine have done splendid things for their generations. The Americans and the French have stood ready at all times to co-operate in the name of liberty. But there is a greater work to be done—the deliverance of the nations from the bonds of war. In this we need the co-operation of all the peoples. Our ancestors achieved liberty and existence for our benefit. We have to secure peace for the generations of the future.

At the banquet tendered Baron d'Estournelles by the University Club on the evening of his arrival in Lincoln, a brilliant company of men and women heard the guest of honour eulogise the city which, he said, recalled to him Pasadena, from whence he had just come. This brought the speaker around to the subject of California, and the Pacific coast talk about war with Japan. He gave an account of his arrival, and how his mission had been discouraged by those who did not know the real sentiment of the country. He found no section desirous of war, he said. At New Orleans, El Paso, in

Arizona, in California, wherever he went he inquired about the cause for the talk of war. No one could give a logical reason, and wherever he spoke he made use of this general ignorance as an argument against such gossip.

In order to make train connection for Kansas City, Baron d'Estournelles was obliged to leave the banquet hall before the speakers' list had been exhausted. But, following his departure, all remained and paid the closest attention to what Prof. P. M. Fling of the university had to tell the gathering about the great movement and how to make it practical. Comparing Baron d'Estournelles to Peter the Hermit, who 800 years ago went about stirring up people to engage in the crusades, the Nebraska educator said that the French statesman's mission would lead the public to understand and appreciate the better all that is being done at present.

Absent from Lincoln at the time of the Baron's visit, William Jennings Bryan did not meet the French statesman until both were guests at the great peace dinner in Chicago ten days later. It is not necessary to comment on what Mr. Bryan has done in behalf of a more peaceful world. His lecture, "The Prince of Peace," sums up his sentiments. At peace congresses, in the United States and abroad, he has pleaded with unrivalled eloquence for a new brotherhood among the nations. Had his candidacy for the Presidency been successful, Mr. Bryan would have brought to the presidential office a desire for international arbitration no less pronounced than that of President Taft. There may be differences of opinion between President Taft and Mr. Bryan, so far as politics is concerned. Where it is a question of national prosperity, with international

amity as a basis, both stand on the same platform and as ardent supporters of the conciliation plan. It is significant to note in this connection that President Taft gives Mr. Bryan credit for having first suggested the scheme of appointing a commission to make a preliminary investigation prior to the actual submission of a question to the board of arbitration.

In Lincoln, as later in Kansas City and St. Louis, throughout the whole great agricultural belt, in fact, that stretches from the Northwest to the Middle States, Baron d'Estournelles found rich opportunity to inform the farming interests how closely connected is the countryside with all that pertains to peace or war. In those commonwealths, peace societies are not yet much in evidence. But, wherever the French statesman lectured, he found his audiences appreciative. He felt assured that a great awakening to the importance of international arbitration had been borne home in the many centres that he visited.

That educational institutions in great agricultural States like Nebraska and Omaha pay particular attention to farm progress is evident. For this reason, the annual peace convocation held at the University of Nebraska is much more than an informative event for the benefit of the faculty and the students. Agricultural workers have embraced the opportunity to be on hand at these convocations, and men like W. J. Bryan, Professors George Howard and Edwin Maxey, Judge Lincoln Frost and Rev. Frank Loveland, of Topeka, Kansas, have made addresses. Professor H. W. Caldwell, of the University of Nebraska's history department, practically originated these peace meetings within the institution.

The National Grange has become a considerable

Prof. George Elliott Howard,
President Nebraska Peace Society, Lincoln,
Nebraska.

Charles Eugene Banks,
Secretary Washington State Peace Society,
Seattle, Washington.

factor in the peace movement of the United States. At the annual convention in Des Moines in 1909, a committee on international peace delivered a report which recommended close affiliation with existing peace societies. Giving the specific reasons why the one million farmers in the Grange should support arbitration, the report said:

International warfare has already seen the handwriting on the wall. Mars has been weighed in the balance and found wanting. The fruitless slaughter of millions is not to be forever nor for long. Let us hasten the day when the rolling war drum will be hushed forever, and the bugle note no longer call to carnage; when "nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." Love shall take the place of Hate, and Justice sit on the throne instead of Greed.

Will the Grange contribute the power of its great influence to this great end? The Grange may well be said to have a birthright in peace, coming as it did at the close of our war of 1861 to 1865. It said at least to the farmers of North and South as did the Saviour to the wild waves of the Sea of Galilee, "Peace, be still"; and it should continue to work diligently in this portion of the vineyard.

The Grange has not only always proclaimed to the world that peace and fraternity were among its precepts, but it has made it one of its laws that "we shall avoid litigation as much as possible by arbitration in the Grange"; and in thus inculcating and practising this principle of arbitration our order is helping on the world-wide movement for arbitration rather than for war between nations, and the bright days of universal peace, for peace rules the day where reason rules the mind.

Our order has become a power throughout the land. The time has come when the patron is heard and his words and counsel considered in legislative halls. Let us, an

unbroken band of brothers and sisters, lend our aid in this great and noble cause of peace, than which none greater can claim our labour and our prayers. Let us join the ranks of those in other walks of life who are strong for this great end; let us add this one more bright jewel to the crown of our order; and then coming generations will bless the name of the Grange, not only as giving freedom to the workers of the soil, but as being among the foremost to usher in the blessed day when peace, indeed, shall reign upon the earth.

In his travels through the country, Baron d'Estournelles found himself constantly reminded of the fact that the farmers were becoming more and more aware of the important relationship existing between the soil and the peace propaganda. Meeting many members of the Grange, talking with those who were erecting homesteads in sections just emerging from virgin conditions, the French conciliator found plenty of opportunity to learn how vital was the question of continued peace to those who had become tillers of the ground in States like Nebraska, the Dakotas, and farther to the south. The ramifications of the National Grange are so extensive that the Baron of necessity came in contact with its members everywhere. But it must have been especially gratifying for him to have recalled that at the First National Peace and Arbitration Congress, held in New York in 1907, he had as a fellow-speaker upon the programme the Master of the National Grange, N. J. Bachelder, ex-Governor of New Hampshire, who on that occasion spoke on "Agriculture and the Peace Movement," and said:

I am here to represent the great industry of agriculture and those engaged in it. I believe the interests of agriculture are the most important of any represented in this

movement for universal peace, for the husbandman is the most important factor among the industrial classes. When the products of his labours are reduced, the fires in our great furnaces burn lower, the spindles in our great factories turn with less rapidity, the trains upon our railroads run with less frequency, and the goods upon the shelves of our great mercantile houses begin to gather dust. When the farms of the country yield abundant crops, as they have in recent years, abandoned forges are kindled anew, manufacturers are unable to fill orders and transportation facilities become clogged. Agriculture furnishes the mainspring of industrial activity.

The heaviest public burdens that the farmer has to bear are the taxes laid to support military establishments the world over, and universal peace would usher in utopian conditions. My only object upon this occasion is to express the sentiment of the farmers in regard to the disastrous effects of war, their deep interest in the objects of this peace congress, and to pledge their support to any policies that may be inaugurated by it for the promotion of universal peace. I bring you the greetings of the farmers of the country in this grand work.

As a further sign that the agricultural element is for peace, the National Grange at its recent convention at Columbus, O., unanimously passed the following resolution in support of the arbitration treaties with Great Britain and France:

Whereas, the Order of Patrons of Husbandry has, for the past twenty years, advocated the principle of universal peace, and through its Peace Commission has earnestly striven to advance such cause, and *Whereas*, the President of the United States has opened negotiations for the establishment of arbitration treaties with the English and French nations, for the purpose of making war between nations

impossible, and in the interest of a common humanity, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the unqualified endorsement of this organisation, representing the farmers of the country, is hereby given to the service rendered by President Taft in behalf of universal peace, and that the National Grange pledges itself to a full support of this sacred cause.

Baron d'Estournelles spoke before the Central High School, Kansas City. In the Shubert Theatre, he discussed woman in her relation to the arbitration movement, and as the guest of honour at the One Hundred and Second Dinner of the Knife and Fork Club, he responded to the introduction by President George H. Forsee by telling the representative citizens of the municipality how Missouri could share in the work of establishing arbitration.

The workings of diplomacy, as the French statesman knew it through his own experience, Baron d'Estournelles explained to the Knife and Fork Club audience.

Diplomacy does not reach the common people [he said]. When once the public is taken into the confidence of the counsels of the nations, wars will cease. The people must make their will felt among the governments of the world. That would mean an end to war. That would also mean the end to diplomacy. I, too, have been a diplomat, but am so no longer. As a Senator of France I can be representative of my constituents' interests, and yet devote my energy to world peace.

Baron d'Estournelles again spoke of the war scare, his personal observations, and how he had found nothing on his entire travels to so far indicate that the militant reports were anything but rumours. He took up

the industrial and agricultural aspects of war and peace, praised the American farmer because he had done splendidly enough to be the owner of an automobile. He then reverted to the other extreme, namely that the agriculturist had not one good highway on which to run his machine. He insisted that Missourians take the lead in the good road movement. He also linked his plea for better roads with the necessity for making the rivers navigable.

While Kansas City has no peace organisation in the ordinary sense of the word, the work of the American School Peace League finds excellent support within the municipality. James M. Greenwood, Superintendent of Schools in Kansas City, is a vice-president of the League. The gathering of teachers and students at the Central High School, to hear Baron d'Estournelles, was due in a large measure to the efforts of Mr. Greenwood. The French arbitration worker is known in Missouri with particular reference to the school and its mission in the realm of peace. As a speaker before the Young People's Meeting, during the First National Peace Congress in New York in 1907, he put himself on record as understanding thoroughly the needs of the juveniles. He impressed upon the hundreds of boys and girls assembled in Carnegie Hall how important it was that the children of one nation should understand the real motives of the children of another nation, and he emphasised the necessity of being familiar with languages other than the vernacular.

As for Mr. Greenwood, and his insistent school campaign within the commonwealth of Missouri, his superintendence of the Kansas City schools has furnished him with an instrument which he wields with telling effect. Both as writer and lecturer he has helped to

make peace history, and Mr. Greenwood's address at the first annual convention of the American School Peace League is characteristic of his earnest endeavours to be concise and comprehensive.

Speaking on "Saving Nations from Themselves," he said:

Adam Smith enunciated nearly a century and a half ago the new doctrine, that the interests of nations and trades were advanced and strengthened by economic conditions, and that peace among nations ought to be secured by an appeal to economic motives. In the earlier history of nations, wars were, in a sense, popular methods of education by bringing different nations and their civilisations in contact with one another, and those great military expeditions in olden times had the effect of widening the horizons of individuals and of nations by breaking up acute provincialism. Though these shocks were rude, barbarous, and fiendish, yet there was some little compensation for the loss of life and property sustained. That many wars had a liberalising effect on the human mind cannot be controverted; but conditions have so changed in recent times that there is now no need of such methods of forming national acquaintances through warlike machinery. War should not now be engaged in, unless to perpetuate national life or to secure the freedom of citizenship.

The world's interests are so closely bound up to-day in commercial and human activities that no nation, however insignificant, can be blotted off the world's map without causing great sorrow and national dishonour. As a nation we have no belligerent and powerful neighbours near us and no dispute can possibly arise that cannot be settled by arbitration; besides, a war that would involve us with the same kind of people that we are, as are our friends and brethren in British America, would be a crime too horrible to contemplate, and a foul blot on our civilisation. The United States can well afford to be a leader in any great

peace movement among the nations of the earth. As teachers, we can lead the way in cultivating such a sentiment among the educators of Great Britain, France, Germany, and the other nations of Europe, Asia, Africa, and Australia. In the city in which I live, we have had special exercises in commemoration of the Peace Conferences for the past few years, and other cities have engaged in like manner. The children look upon this matter in its true light.

A recent acquisition to the peace organisations of the Northwest is the South Dakota Peace Society which was formed in January of this year at Sioux City, as a result of an address delivered by J. W. Parmley of Ipswich before the State Conservation Congress. The subject of the address was "Better Roads or Battleships," and immediately following the congress a peace organisation was effected with Mr. Parmley as president, R. E. Dowdell, Artesian, vice-president; J. W. Campbell, Huron, treasurer; R. J. Woods, Sioux Falls, secretary, and Grace Allen, Ipswich, assistant secretary. There is a vice-president from each county and leading business men, educational and public men and many farmers have identified themselves with the South Dakota Peace Society.

CHAPTER IX

RICHARD BARTHOLDT: INTERPARLIAMENTARIAN

The Moving Force in the House of Representatives for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes—Mr. Bartholdt's Labours the Keynote for American Congressional Participation in Arbitration—The Congressman from Missouri as a Messenger of Good-Will from the Peace President to the Peace Kaiser—The Potsdam Ceremonies on the Occasion of the Presentation of the Von Steuben Statue—German-Americans Active in the Peace Cause—Baron d'Estournelles Receives a Warm Welcome in the Great German-American City—Edwin D. Mead's Impressions of German University Co-operation.

WHATEVER has been done in furtherance of the arbitration movement in the American Congress, the history of the legislative transactions cannot be recorded without giving Richard Bartholdt, member of the House of Representatives from Missouri, full credit for what he has accomplished for his country as a parliamentarian of exceptional capacity and range. Coming from a commonwealth which, in the parlance of the street, desires to "be shown," Mr. Bartholdt "has shown" the country at large what it means to work disinterestedly for a great cause. As president of the American branch of the Interparliamentary Union, acquainted with the leading peace advocates in the old world or the new, a delegate to every great conference or convention having to do with internationalism in the United States or abroad, this Missourian

Congressman has written his name in large letters on the canvas of universal peace.

As a matter of course, when Baron d'Estournelles arrived in St. Louis the French interparliamentarian was anxious to greet the man who has done so much for bringing nations closer. The Baron is himself the president of the French branch of the Interparliamentary Union. But the extra session of Congress claimed the presence of Mr. Bartholdt at Washington. However, while no other St. Louisan could possibly measure up with the member from that city in the national legislative body, other citizens took good care that the French visitor should not feel that St. Louis was other than a centre for international good-will.

While in St. Louis, Baron d'Estournelles was the guest of Robert S. Brookings, president of the Board of Trustees of Washington University and a trustee of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Both at the Round Table Club and at the City Club the distinguished visitor expounded his doctrine of pacificism. He had much to tell his audiences about the Japanese situation.

After disposing of the rumours in his characteristic fashion, he spoke about what the great city of St. Louis and the State of Missouri, in his opinion, had to do to press forward. He again dwelt on the necessity for better roads and for the improvement of the waterways.

I hope you are not touchy [he said], but it is the same story over and over. You have no roads in the sense we have them in Europe. I have been taken around this beautiful city and we saw bits of fine roads, but they are only bits. You will not have roads until every farmhouse in the country is connected with the railroad station.

I went down to New Orleans, and the first thing I asked

to see was the river. And what did I see? There was the splendid river, but not a boat on it of any consequence. The river was lying there shorn of its usefulness. In Kansas City it was the same. I have not yet seen the river at St. Louis, but I have long been anxious to see the watercourse for which La Salle and other Frenchmen sacrificed their lives. It is a pity to give the river over to floods and destruction.

There has been a great awakening in the river delta as to the importance of developing internal waterways, and Baron d'Estournelles could have been told during his St. Louis visit that in far off-Brazil a keen interest has been aroused relative to the possibilities of such an artery for traffic as the Mississippi is. A plan was on foot in Rio de Janeiro for a delegation of business men to visit St. Louis, Kansas City, and other connecting points, for the purpose of establishing a steamship line which will make communication possible between interior Brazil and the Mississippi Valley. The scheme is to arrange for a channel which will accommodate ships from the mouth of the Mississippi River to the interior wharves. Brazil and Argentina are countries with vast rivers. The La Plata, Parana, Amazon, and Orinoco belong to the class of the Mississippi and will eventually come in direct touch with the latter, the ocean alone furnishing the connecting link. It is a proposition ambitious enough to appeal to one who, like Baron d'Estournelles, has laboured for years for an idea. The Brazilian-Mississippi direct route is no more visionary than when international arbitration was classed as such a few years ago.

The excellent relationship which has existed between this country and Germany since the days of the American Revolution found further expression during the

summer of 1911 when William II was made the recipient of a bronze replica of the Baron von Steuben statue, unveiled in Lafayette Square, Washington, some months previously. Representative Bartholdt was made the special ambassador of the President of the United States, and on behalf of the American people presented the national token, together with Mr. Taft's message of good-will. This accentuated the fact that the Missourian statesman is not only a representative citizen of this country, but able by his personality to cement still further the amity between the people of America and the German empire. Mr. Bartholdt's familiarity with German-American idiosyncrasies made him the one member of Congress who could take the presidential message to the German Kaiser with telling effect. Besides, William of Germany knows who among the world's statesmen are conservers of peace. Various rumours to the contrary, the war lord of Germany is an apostle of peace and militant in his conservatism.

While in St. Louis, the city with so large a German population, where Mr. Bartholdt has made his peace propaganda practical among the citizens, Baron d'Estournelles was asked whether he considered the Emperor of Germany for or against universal peace. His reply was:

> All beliefs and reports to the contrary notwithstanding, it is my honest opinion that William II is for permanent peace. But even if he did not personally favour peace, he is wise enough to know that his people desire it. One hundred and thirty-five Socialistic members of the Reichstag are evidence of the desire of the German people for peace.

As bearing out Baron d'Estournelles' opinion in the matter of Emperor William's sentiment, it is told on the

best of authority that in a recent conversation William II expressed himself as follows:

The Thirty Years' War threw Germany back a hundred years in the march of civilisation. What should we have been if we had had thirty years of peace instead of thirty years' war? While I have any controlling voice in the councils of Europe, there shall not be a shot fired or a sword drawn in my time.

It is interesting to learn that Edwin D. Mead, the secretary of the World Peace Foundation, while in Berlin last year spoke about Germany and her peace inclinations as follows:

There is no question in my mind that the German nation has been watching negotiations between the United States and Great Britain and France with the keenest interest. Organised peace movements in Germany are still far behind those of the United States or Great Britain. With regard to influence and resources, the German propaganda is still wanting in much, but I have been impressed by the marked advance in educational circles. I attended the recent meeting of the International Teachers' Associations at Berlin, and I can candidly say that the German delegates, representing 120,000 teachers, were not behind the American or English delegates in their enthusiasm for the advancement of the cause of peace. It is also gratifying to know that the movement is gaining in force in the universities of the German empire. Within the year international peace clubs have been organised in the Berlin and Leipsic universities. The impulse toward the formation of these clubs was given by an American student in Berlin who was active in promoting the Cosmopolitan Club movement in the universities of the United States. Professor Karl Lamprecht, rector of Leipsic University, and famous as an historian, took an active part in organising the club at that seat of

learning. I predict that it will not be long before the universities of Goettingen, Munich, and other places, will soon follow the lead of the institutions mentioned in connection with the peace propaganda. Well-known German professors and jurists are now taking an active part in promoting world peace. It is my belief that German thought is now swinging toward a new idealism of the Kant type. The next conference at The Hague should show that Germany has made a greater advance for world peace since the second conference than before the first and the second gatherings. If Americans could only realise what a profound feeling the Washington-London-Paris negotiations and the signing of the peace treaties have awakened in Europe. If these treaties fail of ratification after the high hopes that have been raised for their passage, the United States may almost be regarded as having broken faith with civilisation.

In respect to the ratification of the treaties, Mr. Mead, like others interested in the matter, was doomed to disappointment when the Senate acted as it did. As for German interest in American affairs, the secretary of the World Peace Foundation must have been signally gratified when in return for the visit which the United States fleet paid to Germany the year before a German squadron set sail for the Western world in June of the present year. It is true that the felicitations were clothed in terms that bespoke armaments and naval demonstration, but at the same time the visit of the Teutons showed how Emperor William desires the friendship of the great republic of America. As President Taft extended his hand to Rear-Admiral von Reheur Paschwitz on board the *Moltke*, the incident off Old Point Comfort might well be classified as a peace event, since with the German nation rests in many respects the continued amity among the world powers.

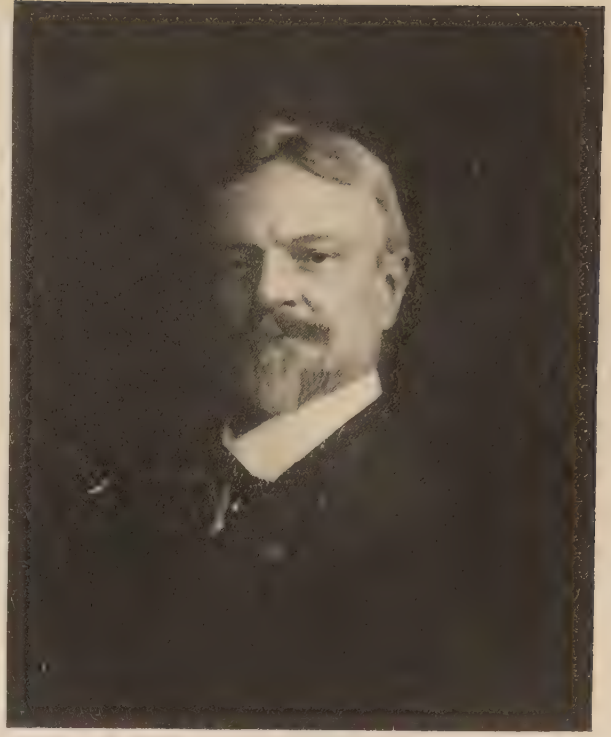
Nothing in the arrangements between the people of common speech, like those of the United States and Great Britain, should permit of Germany feeling itself isolated, and it is the more regretful that the treaties failed of ratification in the original form when it is remembered that on the best authority it has been said that William II was prepared to have his government become signatory to a similar pact as that drawn up with Great Britain and with France.

At all times a champion of the peace cause on the floor of Congress, to Richard Bartholdt an occasion seldom held greater significance than when, on August 12th, shortly after the signing of the treaty with Great Britain, at Washington, he arose and spoke in defence of the international measure that he characterised as of the greatest possible importance to the world. It was typical of his method that he reduced his speech to terms such as would make him easily understood. The Missouri Congressman realised fully that his position in the matter was more that of an individual than of a member of the legislative branch of the government, but he wished to impress the House with the fact that as a German-American, as one of several millions who felt as he did, he considered it his duty to be heard.

Mr. Bartholdt said:

Constitutionally the House of Representatives is not a part of the treaty-making power, hence it might be said that we have no official concern in the arbitration treaties which are now awaiting the sanction of the Senate. That is true in a technical sense. However, as representatives of the people I hold we are most vitally interested in propositions which involve the great questions of peace or war. Not only are the constituencies which we represent on this

J. W. Parmley,
President South Dakota Peace Society.
Photo by Christensen's Art Studio, Pierre, S. D.



Richard Bartholdt,
Member of Congress from Missouri, President American Group Interparliamentary Union.

floor those of the Members of the other House, but we ourselves are their constituents. Most likely they are entirely willing to hear from us on this great question. There was a time when weighty international problems were decided and settled in the chancelleries here and abroad, especially abroad, without the knowledge of either the people or their representatives, but that time is rapidly passing. To-day the people want to know what is being done to promote their welfare, and nearly all governments religiously observe the rule of giving them the fullest information. In the matter of the arbitration treaties, the President and Secretary of State took the people into their confidence from the very start, and not only was the tentative draft published as soon as it was completed, but the people were advised, through the public press, of every important step taken in the course of the negotiations. In England, great mass-meetings were held in which the leaders of both the government and the opposition parties took part and which declared enthusiastically in favour of the principle of a peaceful settlement, by arbitration, of all international controversies. From what I know of the true sentiment of the American people on this subject, they would have spoken out just as emphatically, only on a still larger scale, but for some inexplicable reason these public demonstrations were discouraged by some private citizens and influential friends of the cause. But in view of the publicity which our government has given this matter, the statement that there has been no opportunity for consultation about it is far from the truth and appears rather as a pretext for opposition.

Some of our Irish friends are opposed to the treaty with Great Britain for reasons which need no explanation. To the credit of that sturdy element be it said that the great majority did not approve and could not be induced to join demonstrations which meant the obstruction of a great American policy by a European heritage. And there is good ground for hope that the concession of home rule to

Ireland by a liberal British Government will soon reconcile whatever opposition manifests itself from that quarter.

I might interject here, it has been stated in the public prints that even our German-American citizens were opposed to these arbitration treaties. I stand here to refute that statement. The few that have been led astray are simply the exception which prove the rule. The great National German-American Alliance, counting 2,000,000 citizens of this country as its members, has sent an appeal to the people of Germany asking them to induce their government to join the league of peace by negotiating, the same as Great Britain and France have done, an arbitration treaty with the United States.

With a membership of close to 3000, the Interparliamentary Union has no more ardent workers than Richard Bartholdt and Baron d'Estournelles. Whether at home or abroad, both look farther than the national interests when it is in their power to convey a message of international import.

As president of the Louisiana Purchase Centennial Exposition, held at St. Louis, David Rowland Francis, Secretary of the Interior under President Cleveland, proved himself an exceptional advocate for peace among the republics in America. The very nature of the centennial caused the eyes of France to centre in the direction of the United States during the exposition of 1904. International conciliation found the Cleveland administration no less ready to accept the doctrine than has been the case with President Taft and his cabinet. Already as mayor of St. Louis, Mr. Francis showed his interest in the peace movement within the municipality and the State. When he entered the advisory board of President Cleveland, he brought his influence to bear in the direction of arbitration. As

special ambassador of the United States to Europe, for the purpose of inviting the nations to participate in the Louisiana Purchase Centennial, Mr. Francis had an excellent opportunity to show the friendliness that actuated his country, just as Baron d'Estournelles, as a Senator of France, brought the message of good-will from the sister republic to the American nation during the tour that found St. Louis in a most receptive mood and its citizens eager to learn what the world was doing for the promotion of universal peace.

The twelfth annual conference of the Interparliamentary Union took place in St. Louis in 1904. At the time when the Louisiana Purchase Exhibition was first organised, Mr. Bartholdt was the only American Congressman in the Interparliamentary Union. One of the earliest conferences of this kind that he attended abroad was the conference at Christiania, Norway, in 1899. It was the same year that saw the Hague Court come into existence. The work of the Interparliamentary Union was practically unknown in the United States at that time. And it was at the Vienna conference, in 1903, that Mr. Bartholdt succeeded in convincing the delegates from other nations that the American republic was entitled to be the next meeting place. Denmark had already prepared to invite the nations to Copenhagen, but after Mr. Bartholdt had delivered his eloquent address of invitation, in English, German, and French, the Danish delegation withdrew in favour of the United States as the next meeting place. Having accomplished his purpose, Mr. Bartholdt, on his return to the United States, secured an appropriation from Congress for the entertainment of the foreign delegations. He at once gathered around him the group that developed into the present American branch of the

Interparliamentary Union. It is hardly too much to affirm that without the assistance of these members of the House of Representatives and the Senators that have since allied themselves to world-arbitration, the peace treaties with Great Britain and France would not have become such pronounced factors, although the Senate later deprived the treaties of their force.

In his book, *Among the World's Peace-Makers*, Hayne Davis tells in picturesque fashion about Mr. Bartholdt's early history and rise to legislative renown. This German-American is honoured no less in his native land than in the land where he is now so active for international friendship with other powers. Born in Schleiz, the capital of Reuss, a principality of Thuringia, the American Congressman is the son of the Gottlob A. Bartholdt who, in the German revolution of 1848, endeavoured to establish the American political principles in the Fatherland. The elder Bartholdt had to flee the country in 1849 and came to the United States. He returned to Germany two years following, and made peace with the government.

In the house where Richard Bartholdt was born there has been placed a tablet which reads: "House in which Richard Bartholdt, American parliamentarian, was born." The tablet was put there by order of the City Council of Schleiz.

The fact that the father of Richard Bartholdt had been conspicuous in the revolutionary movement of 1848 evidently did not disturb Emperor William when, as the special ambassador appointed by President Taft, the Missouri Congressman was greeted by the Kaiser at Potsdam on the occasion of the unveiling of the Von Steuben monument, the gift, as has already been said, of the United States to Germany. Not inappropri-

ately, perhaps, the day chosen was the celebration in honour of the battle of Sedan, but except for the brilliant military ensemble there was nothing to indicate that glory of former conquest was made an occasion for the pacificatory event.

St. Louis will no doubt long be proud of the fact that it fell to one of its foremost citizens to extend the German Emperor a greeting that must forever stand as a token of friendship between the people on opposite sides of the Atlantic. After eulogising General von Steuben for what he had done for America, Mr. Bartholdt said in part:

I would say, on behalf of President Taft's special embassy, that the proffered donation is to be a pledge of peace and amity and a guarantee of the sincerity, of the earnest hope cherished by Americans, that the effect of this ceremony may be to draw more and more closely the bonds of traditional friendship and good-will which, strengthened as they are by the ties of blood, have always so happily united the great German Empire with the great republic of the West, the United States of America.

From the material to the political and ideal significance of to-day's act is but a step. The peace President extends to the peace Kaiser, under whose reign the phrase "The Empire is the peace" has been verified, the friendship for hearty co-operation in the peaceful solution of the great problems of civilisation. We live in a time of international conciliation and have come to realise that peaceful development is of more transcendent importance than all that is now dividing the nations, and Germany's forty years of peace is an ample guarantee to America that it requires but an incentive to crystalise mutual sympathy into a political pact. May this beautiful ceremony hasten such a happy consummation!

William II's reply was all that could be expected

from a ruler who has shown on many occasions that his thoughts are far from war and its unpromising consequences to the national development of the great Empire. In the message of German good-will that the Kaiser requested Mr. Bartholdt to convey to President Taft, he showed unmistakably that if it was a question for him alone to decide, Emperor William would at no time project himself into the arena where abitration is not looked upon as satisfactory, but where strength of arms has been considered the only way for settling international disputes.

CHAPTER X

THE CALL ANSWERED BY THE NORTHWEST

James A. Tawney's Championship in Congress and Out—The Upbuilders of the Commonwealth Co-operate Readily—Some Startling Figures about Military Expenditures—Thomas A. Edison as a Prophet—Scandinavian-Americans of the Northwest for International Arbitration—The Speeches of Baron d'Estournelles in St. Paul and Minneapolis—The Recently Organised Minnesota Peace Society—Dr. Cyrus D. Northrop, Former Head of University, the First President—The Influence of President Vincent—Movement Spreading among the Universities.

A MEMBER OF CONGRESS from 1890 to 1911, James A. Tawney, of Minnesota, has been one of the solid arbitration pillars of the House of Representatives, and he has done for his section of the country no less than what Richard Bartholdt has done for Missouri and the adjoining commonwealths. Since his return to his home city of Winona, Mr. Tawney has not relaxed his vigilance in matters pertaining to militarism. But it was while he was chairman of the Committee on Appropriations that he exercised his privilege and judgment to the somewhat discomfort of those who asked for naval and military increases out of all proportion to their necessity. Speaking often on the floor of the House in favour of limitation of armament, a most characteristic address by the former Minnesota Congressman, however, was delivered at the National Peace Congress at Chicago, when he said:

We have entered upon an era of national specialisation where all nations are more or less interdependent, where each nation relies upon other nations for some of the necessities of its life, where no nation lives to itself alone, and where none can perish without loss to the world. The total expenditures of the United States, England, Germany, and France during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1908, on account of their armies and navies, approximated, in round numbers, a billion, or ten hundred million, dollars. Our total expenditures for the army, navy, and fortifications in 1908 aggregated $204,122,855.57, or 36.5 per cent. of our total revenues, exclusive of postal receipts. Our expenditures during the same year on account of wars past were $180,678,204, or 31 per cent. of our total revenue.

The average annual appropriations for our army have leaped from less than $24,000,000 for each of the eight years immediately preceding the Spanish War to more than $83,000,000 for each of the eight years ending with the appropriations made at the last session of Congress for the fiscal year 1910. During the same period the average annual appropriations for our navy have increased from a little more than $27,500,000 to more than $102,400,000. In other words, the increase in appropriations for the army for the periods named exceeded $472,000,000, a sum sufficient to cover the whole cost of constructing the Panama Canal with nearly $150,000,000 to spare. The increase in the sums appropriated for the navy for these same periods is approximately $600,000,000, a sum largely in excess of the total appropriations for the support of our entire government for any fiscal year prior to that of 1898.

The money expended for this purpose is not the only measure of the cost of armed peace. Think for a moment what the American people lost during the past eight years in consequence of the increased expenditure of more than a billion dollars during that time for the purpose of preparing for war in order that war may be prevented. The most enthusiastic advocates of river and harbour improvements

do not estimate that these improvements would cost more than $500,000,000, only half the amount which we have collected in taxes from the people and expended in war preparations during the last eight years in excess of the amount expended for the same purpose during the eight years preceding 1898.

All American peace workers probably do not take the extreme view of the situation as does Mr. Tawney. There are those among the arbitration workers who profess that the question of limitation of armaments will take care of itself when the nations get together squarely and make the Hague Tribunal the adjudicator for international arguments. Baron d'Estournelles, perhaps the leader among the French peace advocates, continually declares for conciliation and its doctrine, but does not specify laws as to what a nation should or should not have in military equipment. That France, and Europe generally, groans under the burden of militarism is a fact so well known that the French statesman hardly found it necessary to say so while in America. But whether in Minneapolis or St. Louis, in New Orleans or San Francisco, his eyes told him plainly that if the government had any money to spare it could be expended to good advantage in the improvement of the rivers and the highways. It is this which makes the statement of Mr. Tawney of effect, since there is little doubt that, so far as the nation is concerned, the call for river and harbour improvements is a vital one, and, if the increase in military expenditures is not entirely warranted, no better place could be found for the money than in the improvement of the internal waterways.

Statistics as to the cost of war show that since the beginning of authentic history no less than 15,000,000,000

lives are supposed to have been sacrificed upon the altar of the god of war. The nineteenth century alone has charged against it the loss of 14,000,000. As for the cost in money, the Napoleonic campaigns, covering nineteen years, involved an outlay of $15,000,000,000. The two years of the Crimean War cost $1,666,000,000. Including pensions and the interest since paid, the American Civil War cost no less than $13,000,000,000. The Franco-Prussian War, the Russo-Turkish War, the British-Boer War, the Spanish-American War, the Russo-Japanese War aggregated in cost almost $8,000,000,000. Altogether, forty thousand millions of dollars have been used up within a century for the purpose of nations warring with each other.

When Thomas A. Edison, on his first extensive vacation in twenty years, arrived in France, the famous inventor submitted to an interview, and considering the part Mr. Edison has played, and still plays, in the world's activity, by way of digression it may be interesting to hear what he has to say about war.

Europe will never again indulge in international conflict, for she has learned her lesson from the economic disasters of war [Mr. Edison declared]. Germany will never again face what it cost her to march up to, but not through, the Arc de Triomphe in Paris. The carved names on that Napoleonic monument strike me as being as barbarous and mediæval as the figures representing the tortures of alleged saints which ornament the façade of the cathedral at Chartres and of the other French cathedrals.

The day has passed when millions of lives can be sacrificed to foolish military ideas. The education of the last ten years has caused individual common sense to revolt against war. When European cabinets talk of war they calculate without their host. As things are to-day, the terrible

deadly effects of inventions to be used in war are such that no country can afford to wipe out the humanity of another, if only for reciprocal, industrial reasons. This fact alone will cause the nations to arbitrate rather than to take the extreme measure of settling disputes by shedding blood.

A nitroglycerine bomb dropped from one of our modern airships will do more damage than whole days of fighting did in Napoleon's time. In other words, invention has got beyond the thirst of blood; the power of science that has been let loose must overwhelm aggressive diplomacy.

Coming back to America and to the French statesman, Baron d'Estournelles found himself the guest of the peace workers of the twin cities, St. Paul and Minneapolis. James J. Hill was his host in St. Paul with the result that an excellent opportunity offered itself for the Baron to familiarise himself with that tremendous factor in American industrialism, the railroad. At the Summit Avenue residence of Mr. Hill, the chairman of the Northern Pacific Railroad and his guest discussed the important features in connection with transportation in relation to war and peace.

Speaking about America's interest in the peace movement, the French arbitration advocate said in an interview that, next to the United States, the Scandinavian countries evinced the most enthusiasm for the cause. In view of the large Scandinavian-American population in Minnesota and the Northwest generally, Baron d'Estournelles' statement naturally aroused great interest.

I have been in the principal countries of the world [he said], working in the interest of international arbitration, and nowhere has my message been so well received as in this country. I am deeply impressed, I am forcibly struck by the interest displayed by the people, young and old,

rich and poor, in the peace movement. Next to the United States I found the deepest interest in Scandinavia. In other countries I have been well received, but they have large navies and large standing armies and public sentiment has not yet been developed to a point where they are ready to give up war. I have gone out of my way to investigate if there was any foundation for the talk about war with Japan. I travelled down to Texas and then through California, where the feeling against the Japanese is the strongest, but I could find no grounds for the war scare.

Baron d'Estournelles can speak authoritatively anent the Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish sentiment regarding international arbitration. Not only has he travelled extensively in the three Scandinavian countries, but the visit of the French parliamentary group of arbitration to Denmark, Norway, and Sweden in 1903, with the Baron the chosen spokesman of the party, has done much to make the smaller nations conscious of their rightful positions within the company of nations. There is hardly a doubt that the separation between Norway and Sweden was brought about peacefully because of the fact that in both countries the Members of Parliament advocated conciliation. Among Baron d'Estournelles' voluminous writings no book of his is of more significance than his account of the French visit to Scandinavia.

During his two days in Minneapolis and St. Paul, the traveller was constantly reminded of his friends in Scandinavia. The twin cities at every point reflect Scandinavian influence.

Under the auspices of the recently organised peace society, Baron d'Estournelles delivered his first address in Minnesota in the Saint Paul Hotel, on the evening of his arrival in the city. On the platform with the

speaker sat James J. Hill, Dr. Cyrus Northrop, former president of the University of Minnesota and president of the peace organisation, besides many men and women prominent in the affairs of the commonwealth. Owing to a pressing engagement which would compel him to leave before the address was over, Governor Eberhart took a seat in the rear of the hall, but so interested did he become in Baron d'Estournelles' peace talk that he sat still until the end.

For fifteen years [said the Baron], I have been an advocate of peace. In France I started an elaborate campaign of education among the people. The French people listened and now they want peace. It is to America that the Hague Court owes its existence. It was America that gave the Court its first case, and it was an American, Andrew Carnegie, that built a home for it.

Then a great disaster happened. Russia and Japan went to war. Things went badly for Russia. She started her second fleet on the way to Japan. Nervous and excited as the Russians were, when they saw some dark ships on the sea, mistaking them for Japanese, they opened fire and sank them. Then it was discovered that they were not Japanese battleships, but English fishing boats. Immediately, talk about war between England and Russia began. Newspapers said it was only a few hours off. England's fleet was prepared. Here was a magnificent opportunity to demand revenge, and to obtain it at little risk.

But the Hague Court had arrived. The governments of England and Russia referred the question to arbitration, and the matter was settled without bloodshed. This was the first great victory of the Hague Court. A question affecting the honour of two countries had been settled satisfactorily by arbitration.

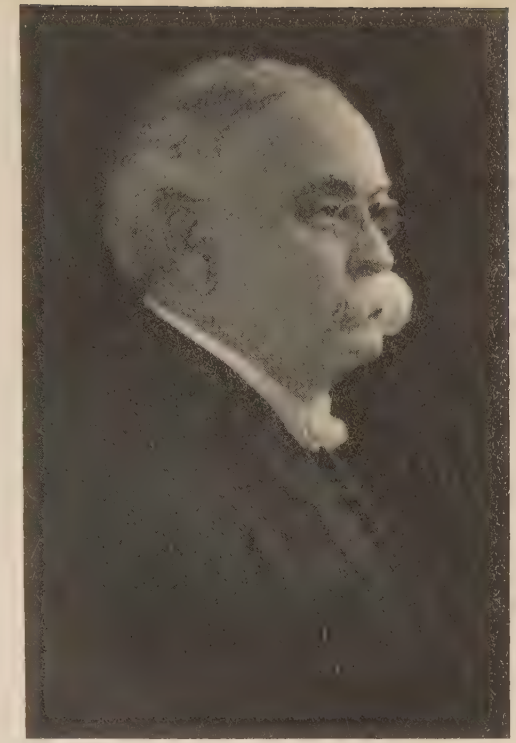
At the University of Minnesota, with President Vincent introducing Baron d'Estournelles as a type of

Frenchman no less patriotic than those who helped in establishing the American republic, but with methods more in conformity with advanced civilisation, the French pacificist ridiculed the idea that international conciliation is only theoretical.

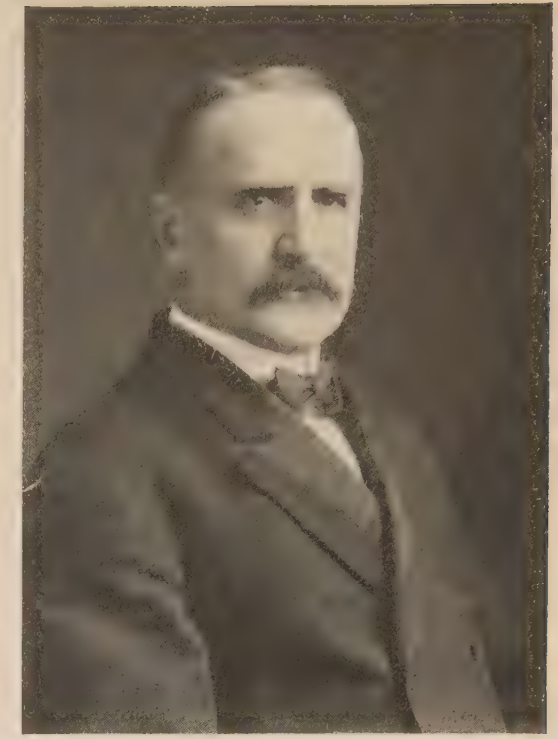
Is it theoretical [he asked] to say that all the nations have no more time, no more money, no more men to engage in useless war? We cannot give all our intellectual force to fighting. You have your liberty and you have your beautiful country. You have railways, universities, and great cities. I find Minneapolis and St. Paul large enough to be the capital of the country. Now you must fight against war which cannot build them up and may destroy them.

We want now an organised movement in the United States for peace. You have a Supreme Court to determine civil cases. We must have a similar court for the settlement of warlike issues. When you have a fleet you feel compelled to use it. Otherwise you would say, "Why pay so much for it?" I know that you sympathise with what I have said. In a few years your children and mine must be able to see all international disputes settled by conciliation.

Baron d'Estournelles' final address in Minnesota took place in the Church of the Redeemer, Minneapolis. The members of the newly formed Minnesota Peace Society paved the way for a large attendance by a liberal distribution of postal cards, through the mail, which stated that Baron d'Estournelles would address the citizens of Minneapolis on the subject of "The New Politics of Peace." The committee on arrangements consisted of the following: ex-Mayor D. P. Jones, Mayor J. C. Haynes, ex-United States Senator W. D. Washburn, State Senator M. L. Fosseen, ex-Governor John Lind, Rev. J. M. Cleary, Rev. M. D. Shutter, pastor Church of the Redeemer; Rev. J. E. Freeman,



Prof. Cyrus D. Northrop,
President Minnesota Peace Society.
Photo by Hubner, Minneapolis.



James A. Tawney,
Former Member of Congress from Minnesota.
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pastor St. Mark's Episcopal Church; Rev. H. P. Dewey, pastor Plymouth Congregational Church; H. V. Jones, editor Minneapolis *Journal;* C. H. Hamblin, editor Minneapolis *Tribune;* W. A. Frisbie, editor Minneapolis *Daily News;* J. T. Gerould, librarian University of Minnesota.

One of the youngest organisations of its kind in the country, the Minnesota Peace Society is fortunate in a support that no doubt will prove of incalculable value to the movement in the United States. With Dr. Cyrus D. Northrop as president, the society is sure of finding the faculty of the university, from which he recently retired, in complete harmony with the idealism which has now entered the stage of practicability. President Vincent is the type of educator who has run the gamut of scholastic yet practical instruction.

CHAPTER XI

THE PROFESSOR AS PROPAGANDIST

Faculty of University of Wisconsin Voicing International Co-operation —The Labours of Professor Reinsch—Milwaukee and Socialism as a Factor for World Peace—Agency for the Prevention of European Conflicts—Carl D. Thompson before the Chicago Peace Congress—The Socialistic Demonstration at Berlin against the Nation Going to War over Morocco—How the Cosmopolitan Clubs Sprang into Existence—Louis P. Lochner and His World Task

PROBABLY no educational institution in the United States has done more for internationalism through its teaching staff than what has been accomplished by the University of Wisconsin. Naturally, arbitration has found a fertile field for cultivation, and when it was announced that Baron d'Estournelles was coming to America, arrangements were immediately made for his appearance at Madison. Besides speaking at the university, the French parliamentarian also addressed the Legislature and several clubs.

There was the further interesting fact in connection with the appearance of Baron d'Estournelles at the University of Wisconsin that the institution was the birthplace of the Cosmopolitan Clubs, which organisation has assumed world-wide importance as a means for making colleges and universities a peace unit both in America and Europe.

In his lecture, Baron d'Estournelles summarised his observations while in America, and he explained why

he considered the United States a natural leader in the peace movement. Entertained by the French Club of the university, he here spoke in French. In the evening he was the guest of honour at the annual dinner of the Social Sciences Club, and his day in Madison came to a close with a reception at the International Club.

At the University of Wisconsin several names stand out conspicuously in the world of internationalism. Professors Reinsch, Showerman, Ross, and Ely have done much toward popularising the subject.

Prolific as a writer, fluent as a lecturer, Professor Reinsch is probably one of the best known university men in the new world. A Wisconsian by birth, and a graduate of the State university, he completed his education at Berlin, Paris, and Rome. As professor of political science he has written extensively about internationalism, and among his works are *World Politics at the End of the Nineteenth Century as Influenced by the Oriental Situation; Colonial Government; Colonial Administration; American Legislatures and Legislative Methods; International Unions*, and *The New South America*.

Professor Reinsch's range is wide, and he frequently approaches the subject of international good-will from the most unexpected directions. He has been suggested for the place of fiscal agent of the United States in case the Nicaraguan and Honduran treaties are ratified by the Senate, and he will undoubtedly have an excellent opportunity to continue his valuable studies into Central and South American affairs. An unquestionable authority on these nations, he will find himself plentifully occupied. Professor Reinsch was a speaker before the Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration of 1911. Speaking on "The Relation of Legality to International Arbitration," the Wisconsin educator said:

Our American diplomacy during the last decade has been memorable in several ways. For one thing, we as a nation are at last becoming conscious of having a diplomacy. Mr. Hay introduced the idea of the so-called new diplomacy, which meant a diplomacy of direction, of placing things upon their true footing, of avoiding all indirectness, intrigue, and chicanery—that is to say, the diplomacy of Bismarck, used, however, not for the purpose of misleading one's opponent, but for dealing with international affairs upon the American basis of business common sense and public honesty. Now Mr. Hay was not a lawyer, but he was followed in this high office by a very eminent lawyer, whose successor again possesses great legal experience and ability. Thus it was natural that in the last two administrations American diplomacy should take up and act upon the concept of legality. If things are to be done in a normal way, in a straightforward and business-like way, then the diplomat ought to know beforehand what rules are to guide him. He must not be left at sea; nothing ought to depend upon personal combination, but there must be certain clear laws so definitely laid down by custom, precedent, and interpretation, that they can be taken as a rule and guidance by the men who have to do this work.

With tongue and pen, Professor Reinsch and his colleagues at the University of Wisconsin have been powerful agencies for the spreading of internationalism. President C. R. Van Hise is known more for his scientific investigations, yet in the promulgation of the peace idea the head of the Wisconsin University is adding his influence to the cause. In the case of Professor Showerman, this scholar is eminently of the world, even while his specialty is Latin literature and archæology. As for Professor Richard T. Ely, as a political economist he has contributed to the literature on sociology extensively and with marked effect. Since Wisconsin, and

Milwaukee especially, have experienced the workability of Socialism in municipal government, it must have been with more than ordinary interest that Baron d'Estournelles went from Madison direct to the city which has a Socialist mayor and has sent to Congress a member of that party. Professor Ely's book on *French and German Socialism in Modern Times*, while written some years ago, still remains a text-book on the subject, and as such must have made its appeal to the Senator of France who lets no opportunity pass to acquaint himself with the literature that bears upon the question of war and peace.

At the City Club of Milwaukee, where Baron d'Estournelles met many of the representative people of the community, he spoke on "Municipal Administration in France." The arbitration advocate took leave of his favourite subject long enough to talk entertainingly about the way Paris and other French cities are governed.

> In Paris [he said], there are twenty mayors. The city is divided into twenty parts, over each of which a mayor has exclusive jurisdiction. This is due to the fact that originally there were twenty small towns, and when they were amalgamated there was no attempt to make a change. This was because the government did not like to give to one mayor entire power for fear there might be conflicts with the general government.

Baron d'Estournelles did not speak on French Socialism, but it is a well-known fact that among his colleagues in the Parliament of France few are more ardent supporters of the peace movement than M. Jean Jaurès, the leader of the Socialist group whose influence has been marked since he became a member of the Chamber of Deputies in 1885. M. Jaurès is the kind of inter-

nationalist that draws his inspiration from every quarter. Some of his books are *Action Socialiste*, *Études Socialistes*, and *Les Preuves*. The one-time professor of philosophy at Toulouse, and editor of *La Petite Republique*, has been a great factor for bringing the French and the Germans together on a common ground of international Socialism. Baron d'Estournelles spoke at the Plymouth Congregational Church on how the militarism which now controls the governments of Europe with its constant conscription and heavy taxation is the real cause of the spread of Socialism in continental Europe.

> One of the principal factors for the preservation of peace [he said] will be the reconciliation of France and Germany. The peoples themselves in these countries are ready to shake the hand of friendship, and you of Milwaukee have it in your power to bring the two nations together. In this you will be doing a service not only to them but to the entire world.

As the last lecturer in the series given under the auspices of the Milwaukee Lecture Service League, Baron d'Estournelles was introduced by President Charles McKenny, of the Normal School. He touched upon Germany and its relation to the world, and he showed his audience that he was aware that he was in a city where the German-American element had exerted a tremendous influence not only within the municipality itself, but throughout the nation and the world.

It goes without saying that Milwaukee has it within its power to cement international friendship by virtue of its German-American citizenry. Nor will it do to deny to Socialism a right to share in the honour. It was at the Second National Peace Congress at Chicago, at

the session when Miss Jane Addams was the presiding officer, that this Chicago Progressive introduced Carl D. Thompson as follows:

One of the most significant things in that curious war between Russia and Japan, which was so full of surprises, was the fraternal greeting sent from the Socialists of Russia to the Socialists of Japan in the midst of the war, when the two countries were fighting together, showing that the people of two nations may come together even if their governments do not.

This Peace Congress would recognise international Socialism as one of the great forces toward peace. Mr. Carl D. Thompson, who will speak upon this subject, used to be in Chicago, I believe, a good many years ago. He went to our sister city of Milwaukee, was made secretary of the charter convention at Milwaukee, and was sent to the Legislature of Wisconsin.

Mr. Thompson spoke on "International Socialism as a Peace Force." He said:

The philosophy of Socialism itself offers the economic basis upon which alone international peace can rest. If an evil is to be cured the cause must first be found and removed. There is a cause for militarism and war, and it lies in the very nature of our present industrial and economic system. The wars of to-day, and the preparations for war, all centre around the question of markets. It is the struggle for foreign markets that embroils the nations.

Socialism goes to the root of the matter. It demands a readjustment of the industrial world. And the purpose of that readjustment is to secure for those who toil the wealth which their labour creates; to eliminate the unearned incomes that constitute the object of the capitalistic method of production; to give to those who labour practically the products of their toil.

When this is done the workers of the world, or the workers in any nation, will be able to buy out of the market an amount of wealth equal to that which their labour has put into the market. There will therefore be no surplus and hence the nation will not need to fight for foreign markets. Exchange between nations may be carried on without exploitation and without the fear of one securing an economic advantage over the other. Thus the philosophy of Socialism in itself offers the economic basis of justice and peace, and in the long run this is the only way of establishing peace upon the earth.

Every other form of effort that the world has resorted to as a means for securing peace has proven futile. The splendid propaganda of the Prince of Peace, the carpenter of Nazareth, maintained as it has been through centuries with the most wonderful devotion, self-sacrifice, and martyrdom, has nevertheless failed to protect the world from war or to save us from the crushing burdens of monstrous armies and navies.

The Socialist movement has already actually prevented war, not once, but in many cases, and as it grows its force in this direction will increase. In Europe the power of the working class is much more feared and respected than in this country. And this is because the American Socialist movement has not yet succeeded in developing the form of co-ordinated organisation which it has secured in European countries. The movement does not lack in its expression of power in the parliamentary bodies of the world. Four hundred and seventy Socialists are to-day sitting in the national parliaments. There are ninety Socialists in the national parliament of Austria, seventy-six in the parliament of France, eighty-five in Finland, forty-three in Germany, forty-four in Italy, thirty-five in England, a strong group in Norway, Sweden, Belgium.

The Socialist movement of the world is making an untiring fight against militarism. Its representatives refuse on every occasion to vote for the expenses of military and naval

armaments. They seek to democratise the army. They use each year with increasing vigour and success the varied methods of action open to them to prevent the breaking out of wars or to end them if they once are started. By taking advantage of the weakness of governments when engaged in war, to press the demands of the working class, they are sometimes able to force a cessation of hostility.

Two years following Mr. Thompson's Chicago address the German by-elections showed the Socialists to have polled 47.34 per cent. of the votes. In 1907 the vote during the last general election stood at 27 per cent. in favour of the Socialists. Berlin is intensely Socialistic. The advocates for international peace draw their own conclusions from the gathering of 200,000 Germans in Treptow Park, Berlin, on Sedan Day, when ten leading Socialists appealed to the Berliners to throw their votes and influence against Germany going to war over the Moroccan problem, then under consideration.

It will probably be some time before the world will learn to what extent the present international propaganda for peace helped along the negotiations relative to Morocco, and France's control. Baron d'Estournelles had returned to his native country when the Moroccan spectre began to rear its hydra head on the European horizon. While he spoke in St. Louis and Milwaukee, the French and German and British chancelleries were getting busy regarding Northern Africa.

Baron d'Estournelles' book dealing with France and Germany, *Le rapprochement Franco-Allemand condition de la paix du Monde*, is an attempt to show that on the good understanding existing between these two powers depends the peace of the world. The French statesman had laboured to make reconciliation effective between Germany and France. He was instrumental

in organising the first conference tending toward a German-French *entente* among the legislators in the two countries.

The purpose of the Association of Cosmopolitan Clubs was explained at the Universal Races Congress in London last summer, when Louis P. Lochner, general secretary of the association, and editor of *The Cosmopolitan Student*, gave a brief history of the organisation as follows:

On the eve of March 12, 1903, sixteen foreign and two native students of the University of Wisconsin, together representing eleven nationalities, gathered in the modest little apartment of a young Japanese. They founded an international club, in which the representatives of every nation in the university were to meet on a basis of equality and brotherhood.

This was a new departure in student activities. Foreign societies, it is true, were no uncommon feature of American college life. Every large institution of learning had its prospering Norwegian, German or Latin-American Club. But the idea of a cosmopolitan organisation with universal brotherhood as its corner-stone was a novel one. By many it was denounced as a chimera. The very idea of amalgamating into one society men of the most diverse countries caused a faint smile of contempt on the lips of narrow-minded nativists.

Yet what happened? The organisation so founded grew and prospered until to-day, with a membership of seventy clubs, representing twenty countries, it is one of the most flourishing and certainly the most interesting organisation in the university. The cosmopolitan idea has spread to other universities, so that now twenty-four leading State and endowed institutions of learning count such clubs among their valuable assets.

A National Association of Cosmopolitan Clubs was

founded in 1907. It has a membership of over two thousand and includes representatives from almost sixty different countries. A monthly organ, *The Cosmopolitan Student*, keeps the members in touch with each other and with the various movements for the better organisation of the world. At a convention held at The Hague, Holland, in August, 1909, an affiliation was even perfected with the Federation Internationale des Étudiants, better known as Corda Fratres. Our work is thus on an international basis, and the possibilities for effective co-operation unlimited. United the two bodies have become a league of universal brotherhood which will soon encompass the student body of the whole civilised world.

The foreign students are for the most part representatives of the flower of their country—men coming from the very best families. Many are sent by their governments. They will later occupy positions of trust and honour in their respective communities. They will become the leaders of public opinion, and even of the political spirit and policies of their nations. In proportion as these men from different countries are brought in contact with their fellow-students of different nationality, in proportion as they learn to understand each other, in proportion as they realise that we are but members of one large family and that therefore war and hostility are thoughts unworthy of a rising generation, will the hopes for the realisation of world peace be increased.

Mr. Lochner assisted in the reception to Baron d'Estournelles on the latter's visit to the University of Wisconsin. He had the opportunity to renew his acquaintance with a French citizen who for years has been interested in the students' movement. Internationalism has no more fertile ground at its command than the educational centres of America and Europe. The Corda Fratres organisation commands the respect of the leading statesmen everywhere.

At the fifth annual convention of the Association of Cosmopolitan Clubs, held at Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana, last December, Secretary Lochner in his report on the activities of the year stated that three additional States, California, Oregon, Minnesota, and Ontario, Canada, had joined the association. Mr. Lochner also gave an account of the founding of the International Students' clubs in the universities of Leipsic and Berlin, and of a strong committee being organised in London to push a similar movement in England and Scotland.

Speaking about the relations between the American clubs and those in other countries, Secretary Lochner said:

Up to the present time we have done practically nothing to establish relations between ourselves and the student bodies of South America. That the latter are interested in international fraternity is evident from the fact that both the Chilean and Argentine governments sent a delegation to the Corda Fratres. These men were earnest and bent upon work, and regretted as much as I that amid the generous hospitality of our Italian comrades the deliberative side of the congress somewhat suffered. They showed us the reports of the Pan-American Students' congresses thus far held in South America, in which student problems of deep significance are discussed, and earnestly and cordially requested that if possible the Association of Cosmopolitan Clubs be represented at the third congress to be held at Lima, Peru, during 1912. The United States has never been represented by any student delegation, although at the last congress, at Buenos Aires, Professor Reinsch, of Wisconsin University, attended.

Here, then, is an opportunity for new connections. No doubt some of our Latin-American members are going back to South America for the summer. Possibly there are

Louis P. Lochner,
General Secretary Association of
Cosmopolitan Clubs.
Photo by the Ford Studio, Madison, Wisc.

Prof. A. W. Cole,
President Association of Cosmopolitan Clubs.

others who could just as well spend their vacation in beautiful Lima as elsewhere. My recommendation is this: Let a canvass be made of our entire membership through the local secretaries to ascertain who is likely to attend the congress. Let these names be submitted to the board of directors of the A. C. C. which shall choose from among them a delegation to bring to the Third International Students' Congress greetings of the A. C. C. and which shall study the organisation of that congress and of the societies composing it with a view to establishing an *entente cordiale* with the students of Latin America.

It is a fact that while commercial intercourse with Latin America has increased by leaps and bounds, only within very recent times has any attempt been made to foster international educational relations. It is pertinent to the present interest in South American affairs that at Lima, in the far-famed University of San Marcos, the oldest university of the Western world, an American chair has been established for the purpose of instructing the students in the economical and educational questions that confront the sister republic to the north. Furthermore, in the establishment of exchange professorships, as planned by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, a new and invaluable link will be forged in the strengthening chain connecting the two Americas. There are in some of the American universities professors especially well suited for carrying the Northern educational message below the Panama Canal zone. On the other hand, the sciences and the arts find in South America men who are the equals of educators in their respective lines anywhere. It is all-important that the movement for closer affiliation between the sister republics be encouraged to the fullest degree, and the students' organisation both North and

South do yeoman service in that direction. The arbitration spirit, besides, has become firmly imbedded among the people of Southern republics. They realise that peace is essential to progress, and that only by devoting their energies to a continual upbuilding of international good fellowship can prosperity be maintained.

CHAPTER XII

THE NEW CHICAGO IDEAL

Finance and Commerce Accept Arbitration as Essential to National Advancement—The Great Citizens' Meeting to Endorse the Peace Treaties with England and France—Baron d'Estournelles the Guest of the Hamilton Club—William J. Bryan's Oration—United States Director of Mint Roberts First President Chicago Peace Society—New York *Evening Post's* Striking Editorial on "War and Finance"—The Field Secretary of the American Peace Society.

BUSY as Chicagoans have been at rearing a community that has already become a centre for world-trade, for some years the leading citizens have realised that local and national prosperity can rest secure only on a foundation of international peace. For this reason, when the plan of President Taft for arbitration treaties with Great Britain and France assumed concrete shape, the people of the great city by the Lake rose to the occasion.

The mass-meeting held in Chicago on January 8th, of this year was an earnest of what the citizens would do to help along the movement. The gathering at the Auditorium was one of the largest held for a similar purpose, and it was under the auspices of the Hamilton Club, with the co-operation of the Citzens' National Committee, of New York, of which Joseph H. Choate was chairman and former Vice-President C. W. Fairbanks vice-chairman. Colonel Henry Watterson was the principal speaker, and the interest in his appearance

was the more direct because the Kentucky editor was bringing his peace campaign to a close with the Chicago meeting after he had visited the principal cities North and South.

Among the speakers were Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch, the late Congressman David J. Foster of Vermont, Miss Jane Addams, and Henry C. Morris, a member of the Hamilton Club, who was the chairman of the meeting.

Enthusiastic as was the gathering of this year, when Baron d'Estournelles reached Chicago, April 29, 1911, his reception indicated how well the arbitration propaganda was progressing in that city. The Chicago Peace Society, the University of Chicago, the Chamber of Commerce, organisations and individuals, joined hands to extend the visitor from France a welcome in conformity with the import of his mission and the aim which meant to bind France and the United States closer. It had been impossible for William Jennings Bryan to greet the Baron when the latter visited Lincoln, but the distinguished Nebraskan made it a point to be at the banquet at the Congress Hotel when many of the leading citizens met to honour the French arbitration advocate.

About five hundred members of the Chicago Peace Society and their friends were present in the Gold Room of the Congress Hotel when Leroy A. Goddard, president of the society, arose to introduce the chief guest of honour. Mr. Goddard complimented the society on being able to have so distinguished a visitor at the anniversary banquet of the Chicago peace organisation. He showed how the very existence of commerce and trade depended on the country taking a firm stand in behalf of international good-will, and he asked the assemblage to do its utmost so that Chicago could be

counted on as a valiant fighter in the army for making war on war. Mr. Goddard's connection with the peace society has been the means of drawing some of the most prominent business men to the organisation.

When Baron d'Estournelles arose to reply, an incident took place which illustrated how the questions of war and peace are taking hold of the public conscience. On the speakers' table were a red and a white carnation at each plate. Involuntarily the Baron clasped a flower as he made ready to address the gathering. When he discovered that it was the white carnation that he had chosen, he smiled and raised the symbol of peace to his face. The red flower remained on the table, and as the diners caught the significance of the incident, cheers echoed through the banquet hall.

Holding the white flower in his hand throughout his address and raising it now and then to his lips as he progressed, as if to emphasise the connection between its purity and the peace cause, Baron d'Estournelles said:

I have nearly accomplished my long campaign around your country, your great country, and now I have come back to Chicago, where I delivered my first address ten years ago—my maiden speech, indeed—in America.

I will never forget that. I was the guest of your Union Club. You gave me my first encouragement. I said at that time, as I say it now, our mutual ancestors had discovered and created your country and together obtained your liberty. But this is not enough. We cannot be satisfied by enjoying their legacy—we have to do something more.

Peace is nothing of a dream now. It is a practical organisation. Everybody understands that. American public opinion has been unanimous in supporting your government in its efforts to organise arbitration.

Baron d'Estournelles gave a detailed account of his tour through the South and along the Pacific coast. He took up the Mexican difficulties and the Japanese war scare. He ridiculed the latter as groundless. He told about the two Hague conferences, what they had achieved and what they held out of promise to the next gathering. He also referred to the arbitration treaties then in negotiation.

Public opinion is waiting for this new education of our times [he concluded]. The people have to understand exactly what is meant by a treaty of arbitration. Arthur Balfour said yesterday in London that it would be bad to make treaties and not be prepared to execute them. He is right. He wants, as we do, arbitration without deception. He wants, as we do, a good education of the people, who have not only to wish arbitration treaties, but to submit to these treaties. The signature of a treaty is a great thing; its execution is still better.

Look at the admirable execution for nearly a century of your treaty with Great Britain concerning the disarmament of the Canadian frontier. It is not the letter only, it is the spirit of the two nations which have faithfully executed it that we admire. What we have now to do is to finish our work of education. It is to prepare, all over the world, the people for self-discipline and the free acceptation of reason and justice for the settlement of their quarrels.

Mr. Goddard, as the toastmaster of the evening, introduced Mr. Bryan as one "who is internationally known as a most distinguished man and has his own convictions and is not afraid to speak them."

That the Nebraskan has lost none of his oratorical power was apparent when he began to speak. Paying his compliments to the Chicago Peace Society and the men and women who had come to do Baron d'Estournelles

honour on the occasion, Mr. Bryan referred to his long acquaintance with the French parliamentarian whom he termed the most conspicuous peace leader of Europe of the day.

I am glad to participate in this banquet [Mr. Bryan said], and join you in doing honour to the distinguished citizen of France—Baron d'Estournelles de Constant. He is the son of a nation whose history has been interwoven with our own and whose friendship has come to us as a cherished heritage from Revolutionary days.

France was our ally in the struggle which resulted in our independence, and our people have shown their appreciation of Lafayette by giving his name to more cities and streets than they have to the name of any other foreigner, and very few American names have been as often honoured.

We are indebted to another great Frenchman for a conception which we are now working out. It was De Lesseps who first undertook the uniting of the oceans at Panama—a gigantic vision which is soon to be realised through the efforts of our country. When we congratulate ourselves that we are about to complete what the great Frenchman began, we must not forget the credit due to the mind that was able to demonstrate the possibility of bringing the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans together.

Our guest, Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, is one of the pioneers in an engineering scheme that surpasses in scope and in importance the dreams of De Lesseps—the union of nations in the bonds of peace, which is a grander conception than the marriage of the oceans. I have had the pleasure of meeting our guest at Paris, at London, and at New York, and I have been drawn toward him by the zeal that he has displayed in the advancement of the cause of universal peace. I have been delighted and instructed by the arguments with which he is ready to silence objectors and convince the doubting.

He can speak of brotherhood to those who feel a kinship

with their fellows and he can show the criminal folly of war to those engaged in trade and commerce, but the characteristic that has struck me the most forcibly is his faith. His belief in peace outruns all argument, and it is because he takes hold of the unseen that he has shown such a dauntless courage. He illustrates, too, a very important fact, namely, that one borrows strength for a great cause. I am sure that he will not regard it as detracting from his personal merit and from the long service he has rendered to the cause of peace when I say that it is true of him, as of all others who render great service, that he is a reflector of light—light that shines for the holy cause that he has espoused with so much earnestness. He has grown with the cause; he has gone into partnership with forces that are external; he rejoices in the certainty of victory, because truth is omnipotent and must prevail.

There is only one excuse that can be made for war, namely, that man has not yet brought the brutal instincts under the control of the reason and the heart. To despair of peace would be to despair of progress among men. Some have hoped to bring peace by an increase of armament, in the hope that the world might be frightened away from war or driven into peace by the weight of military armament. We are glad to welcome any encouragement that may come from this source, but it ought not to require the exhaustion of nations to convince us that the ruin of all concerned is the end of the rivalry in the building of battleships.

I am a believer in an entirely different theory. I fear the encouragement of the military spirit. I fear that the building of battleships will inflame the passion for war, rather than frighten us into peace. I believe that the road to peace lies rather in the culture of the spirit of peace and friendship. Love begets love. I have more faith in the power of a good example than in the terror excited by thirteen-inch guns.

Baron d'Estournelles spoke at Orchestra Hall before

the Sunday Evening Club. He was tendered a reception by the Alliance Française at the La Salle Hotel.

The guest of President Judson of the University of Chicago, he addressed a large convocation of students. The Chicago institution has made international happenings a special study. The audience proved to be in a receptive mood. At the University of Illinois, the following day, the university band added interest to the gathering by playing the "Marseillaise" when Baron d'Estournelles appeared. He was greatly pleased by this reference to his nationality, and as if to return the compliment, he began to speak in French after the music ceased. Consternation was written on the faces of those not familiar with the language. The Baron, however, soon made it apparent that he had played a little ruse, and he then continued in the vernacular.

Speaking about the training of the youth, he said that it was false patriotism to support a nation in a war excited by jingoism. He warned the young men against letting sensational journalism inflame them upon international problems. He believed, he said, that the American nation was too impetuous, too emotionally patriotic.

The many Chicago business men who heard the French arbitration apostle could not help observing that Baron d'Estournelles dwelt emphatically on the fact that commerce throughout the world waited on international peace to usher in a stability that was wanting when wars and rumours of wars kept everything uncertain. It is true that, in every city which he visited, the Frenchman accorded prominence to the questions of finance and commerce. But in Chicago it seemed as if he summed up the effect upon the country.

In this connection it is interesting to know that

George A. Roberts, Director of the United States Mint, was the first president of the Chicago Peace Society. During his residence in Chicago, Mr. Roberts was zealous in his efforts to advance the organisation. It required matter-of-fact men to give the arbitration idea a matter-of-fact presentation in the city by the Great Lake. Reared in a financial atmosphere, Director Roberts knows the need for peace among the nations if industry and commerce are to progress. Since his removal to Washington he has not ceased to labour for the general education of the masses in all that concerns world amity.

The present officers of the Chicago Peace Society are: President, Leroy A. Goddard, President of State Bank of Chicago; vice-president, Edward M. Skinner, former President Chicago Association of Commerce; secretary, Charles E. Beals, Field Secretary of American Peace Society; treasurer, Charles L. Hutchinson, Vice-President of Corn Exchange National Bank; auditor, Maurice L. Kuhns, Secretary Safeguard Account Company.

On the score of finance, it is certainly a fact that to a degree as never before in the history of the nations had militant reports caused a more panicky feeling to creep in than when France and Germany were rumoured to have reached a point in the negotiations relative to Morocco where war was the only solution. Even while the respective chancelleries kept at their tasks, the Berlin and Paris bourses, the stock exchanges of the world, felt the effect of the great uncertainty that hovered over Europe. Of the many financial editorials at the time, the following from the New York *Evening Post* under the caption, "War and Finance," suits the situation exactly:

It is always possible that too much stress may be laid on purely financial considerations, as an obstacle in the way of belligerent purposes by any government [it ran]. When people refer to the money market as an embarrassment to a possible "war policy" on the part of Germany, it must be remembered that Russia and Japan fought an enormously costly war for a year and a half, when neither of them possessed financial resources or international credit comparable in the least to that of Germany. There is, however, another financial aspect of the present case, which is quite sufficient to explain the cables of yesterday, reporting the run on some provincial German savings banks in consequence of rumours that war between France and Germany was impending.

It is now forty years since any war has been waged between first-class financial and commercial powers. During that period the machinery of international finance has become a radically different and a vastly more complicated affair than the world had ever seen up to that time. Since the Franco-Prussia War of 1870, the only noteworthy international conflicts have been the Russo-Turkish War of 1877, the Greco-Turkish War of 1897, the Spanish-American War of 1898, the Boer War of 1899, and the Russo-Japanese War of 1904. In none of those contests had both belligerent nations very wide financial entanglements throughout the international world. In none of them did the two contestants find any difficulty in raising money for the struggle from wealthy neutral communities; the case of the Manchurian War, when Paris financed Russia, and London and New York equipped Japan with the necessary funds—both with surprisingly little immediate economic disturbance—appeared to prove that it was easy, rather than difficult, to provide for war expenses through the international money market.

But a moment's consideration will show that it proved nothing of the kind, so far as concerns a conflict between first-class financial powers. Like the Boer War and the

Spanish War, the Manchurian War was fought in a more or less isolated field. There was no invasion of a prosperous commercial community. Two of the three conflicts were settled by sea-fights, and in none of them were the delicate relations of international finance seriously deranged. But the case of a land campaign of Germany against France would be an altogether different matter. To begin with, enormous sums of French and English capital are loaned out to-day on the German markets, to assist in financing the great commercial expansion of that country. In case of war, that capital would in large measure be recalled—certainly so in the case of France, and probably in the case of England, if the British Government were to go to the help of France.

Germany could undoubtedly raise at home, in one way or another, all the money that she needed to meet the war expenses. But it does not require any great knowledge of finance to foresee the immediate consequences in German industry. Already much extended financially, and resting avowedly on its relations with foreign money markets, the business community of Germany would be confronted simultaneously by an immense peremptory demand for capital by the home government and by withdrawal of the foreign capital on which home industry had been relying. This would be a contingency not any more agreeable to contemplate in that European precedent gives no clear idea how serious the resultant situation would be.

For the War of 1870 itself provides no real measure. Neither France nor Prussia had a tithe of the commitments and entanglements in international finance forty years ago that Berlin and Paris have to-day. Furthermore, it must be remembered that at the time of the Franco-Prussian War, England was wholly neutral, and, from her enormous liquid resources, was free to lend capital to both belligerents. The War of 1870, though brief, was expensive enough; it probably cost in the neighbourhood of a million dollars a day for each contestant, exclusive of the five milliard francs

Charles E. Beals,
Director Central-West Department American Peace Society, Secretary Chicago Peace Society.

Leroy A. Goddard,
President Chicago Peace Society, President of State Bank, Chicago.

of indemnity exacted by Prussia after the defeat of France. But war on European soil to-day would cost much more. England's so-called "little Transvaal conflict" drew a million dollars a day out of the British Exchequer; the cost of the Russo-Japanese War averaged $3,000,000 a day for the combined outlay of both governments, and more recent estimates by European experts have fixed $5,000,000 as the probably minimum day outlay which a land war between two European powers of the first class would now entail.

We have already said that the money could be raised; more easily, perhaps, in France than in Germany. But the other considerations which we have set forth prove that the possibility of obtaining the sinews of war would not be the last of the problems. The overwhelming financial and industrial derangement, whose scope is difficult to measure or foresee, abundantly explains the attitude of the German business community towards the Morocco war talk, the protests of last Sunday's mass-meeting of the working community at Berlin, and the cautious procedure of the German Ministry.

The Chicago Peace Society has as its secretary Charles E. Beals, who is also the field secretary for the American Peace Society. It is due in no small measure to his energy and perseverance that so many Chicagoans of prominence have allied themselves with the movement. Mr. Beals is continually on the move. He is an excellent lecturer. When the Twelfth Universal Peace Congress was held in Boston in 1904, he joined the American Peace Society. He has attended most of the important peace congresses in this country and abroad, and he edited the proceedings of the Second National Peace Congress, held in Chicago, in 1909.

It was, in fact, the Chicago Congress which awakened the Chicagoans to the importance of the movement

as a world factor. Mr. Beals, with many other peace workers from Boston and other points in the East, had gone to the Lake city, and the enthusiasm which was aroused in Chicago impelled the board of directors of the American Peace Society to transfer Mr. Beals to that city as field secretary. The present society was organised January 4, 1910. There had been a Chicago Peace Society previously organised in 1902, of which Rev. Hiram W. Thomas was president and Mrs. E. A. W. Hoswell was corresponding secretary. But its activities practically ceased three years ago.

CHAPTER XIII

CRADLE OF PRESIDENTIAL ARBITERS

Ohio Follows in the Footsteps of the Distinguished Sons who Have Been both Presidents and Peace Advocates—Manufacturers' Club of Cincinnati Honours the French Conciliator—Compliment Paid Aviation Experts because of the Fact that it Leads to International Unity—William Howard Taft in His Home City—Another Trustee of the $10,000,000 Carnegie Peace Fund—Senator Theodore E. Burton, President American Peace Society, a Product of the Buckeye State—Cincinnati Peace and Arbitration Society, Intercollegiate Peace Association, Cleveland Peace Society—It was Senator Burton Who Placed Mr. Taft in Nomination in 1908.

IT was to be expected that the Presidential State—Ohio—which has furnished at least three chief executives of the nation who have been active in arbitration, should have taken a conspicuous place in the matter of the peace treaties that aimed at closer international relationship with Great Britain and France. William McKinley and William Howard Taft have written themselves down as realising that true patriotism can be won in other ways than warfare.

During the past year, when the country emphasised its approval of all that the administration was doing to foster world-harmony, Cincinnati showed itself ready more than once to give the fullest expression to this sentiment, and when Baron d'Estournelles came to the Queen City he met with a reception that gave evidence of the citizens' appreciation of this Frenchman's efforts to help educate Americans to a point where they could

realise the vital import of the United States leading the nations in the matter of arbitration.

It was the Manufacturers' Club of Cincinnati that gave the noted parliamentarian a welcome that had not been surpassed in cordiality in any of the cities which he had visited up to then. There was a banquet at the Queen City Club at which W. F. Robertson, president of the club, acted as toastmaster. Among the other guests of the evening was Orville Wright whose aviation exploits were of particular interest to the Frenchman who has himself given considerable thought to airships and their construction. The menu card was a testimonial to the ingenuity of France and America in the flying art, for there was a reproduction of a French and an American aeroplane. Baron d'Estournelles has written several books on aviation, although it is a foregone conclusion that he does not favour these messengers of the air as instruments for warfare.

At the Manufacturers' Club Banquet a letter was read from President Taft, as follows:

THE WHITE HOUSE.

MY DEAR MR. ROBERTSON:

I have your letter of April 25th and greatly regret that my engagements make it impossible for me to attend the dinner of the Manufacturers' Club of Cincinnati on May 3d. It would afford me much pleasure to hear the address which your guest of honour, Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, will make on the subject to which he has devoted his life and in which we are all so much interested. Please present to the Baron and to your members and guest on this occasion my greetings and my good wishes for a delightful evening.

Sincerely yours,

WM. H. TAFT.

A telegram from M. Jusserand, the French Ambassador at Washington, said that France's representative to the United States was very sorry that he was unable to attend a banquet where "such good men meet to such good ends. Mankind owes them an increasing debt of gratitude for their generous efforts in favour of permanent peace."

Neither President Taft nor Ambassador Jusserand, nor Mr. Bryce who was also invited, and who likewise sent regrets to the Manufacturers' Club because of inability to be present, anticipated on that May 3d that not many weeks after all three countries should appear before the world as anxious to conclude arbitration treaties. It was during the banquet in honour of the French Nobel prize winner that resolutions were adopted and sent to President Taft to the effect that the assemblage favoured the negotiations "between the United States and Great Britain of an unlimited arbitration convention as proposed by President Taft" and "the beginning by our Department of State of a revision of the existing arbitration conventions of the United States with other nations with a view to securing such unlimited arbitration treaties with all."

In his address to the Cincinnatians, Baron d'Estournelles said:

Men are needed by all nations for building up those nations. The time for waste of men and money belongs to the past. True patriotism consists in doing good service to one's country. A stimulation of internal activity by means of good relations with each other has been the main purpose in the plan we have been advocating, entirely outside all party spirit, for the past ten years, through methodically educating public opinion. This enterprise at

first seemed chimerical, but we have had unmistakable support, and from all classes in every part of the country.

Results have been obtained already. Prejudices against foreigners are vanishing. Nations are discovering that, in view of the changes brought about by progress and the effects of world-wide competition, they can lose by fighting among themselves, and that, on the other hand, they have everything to gain by grouping themselves together like individuals and making mutual concessions so as to bring about a co-operation which strengthens their own independence and their own personal standing. The actual money profit resulting from this new form of evolution can be estimated in millions, without counting the greater facility given to business intercourse.

The hardest part of the work is already done. The present improvement has not been achieved because people have been carried away by sentiment: the real reason is that it was in accordance with general interest. It is true that this improvement has not prevented lamentable conflicts and has only served to keep them within limits. But the Franco-English *rapprochement* has, perhaps, prevented universal war, and are we to reckon as of no account the first arbitration treaties obtained through constant agitation? But we must not stop here. We must provide against unexpected incidents which might turn the march backward, and it is for this reason that we have prepared our international organisation.

Turning to Mr. Wright, after complimenting the aviator on his inventiveness, Baron d'Estournelles declared that aviation and other inventions that annihilate space were gradually making the nations one and would bring war to an end. He likened the peace movement to the flying machine of five years ago when every one hoped it would be true but refused to believe it possible.

That Cincinnati business interests are keenly appreciative of the value that attaches to arbitration may be gathered from the resolution passed at the banquet asking that the Fourth National Peace Congress be allotted to that city in 1913. The gathering was representative of the leading financial and commercial interests, and on the day when the Third National Congress opened at Baltimore, Cincinnatians believed the moment opportune for making their wishes known. The peace people of Cincinnati are now aware that President Taft is one of them, both by birth and inclination. They take considerable pride in the fact that the chief executive laid the foundation for an international arbitration pact while going to college and practising law in the Queen City.

When Baron d'Estournelles made his appearance before the University of Cincinnati, he was greeted as one who brought a message anticipated by both faculty and student body. There probably is no other city in the country where President Taft's arbitration treaties with Great Britain and France has been followed with closer attention than in Cincinnati and its educational institutions. When Baron d'Estournelles was in Cincinnati, the negotiations for the treaties had merely begun. But it was known in well-informed quarters that great international events were impending, and in his speech at the university, the Senator from France made it clear that the most patriotic among Frenchmen cherished the hope that the hour for universal peace was at hand. He insisted that it was for the young people in Europe and America to take the lead in whatever movement tended in that direction. He gave Americans credit for having achieved much and as being capable of doing still more.

That Andrew Carnegie should have chosen J. G. Schmidlapp, of Cincinnati, as one of the twenty-seven trustees of the Carnegie $10,000,000 endowment for the advancement of peace must be considered complimentary to the activity of the community in behalf of international friendship. One other Ohioan, Samuel Mather of Cleveland, had been similarly honoured by the iron master. But Mr. Carnegie's selections must also have been made with reference to what the State as a whole has contributed to the peace cause.

As president of the American Peace Society, Senator Theodore E. Burton, of Ohio, since the removal of the society's headquarters from Boston to Washington is in a position to serve the cause to the best advantage. At the national capital this noted Ohioan has ever spoken the cause of international arbitration, and with telling results.

Speaking on numerous occasions on the naval appropriation bills, Senator Burton brought to his task a study of naval and military affairs in all leading countries. Referring to one particular bill he said:

The amount carried in the bill for appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1910—$135,000,000—is twice as great as the net expenditures of the government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1861, and yet at that time our country contained 35,000,000 people. In the year 1910 approximately two thirds of all our expenses were for war.

A statement which I have before me says that the total cost to four nations—the United States, Great Britain, Russia, and Germany—for military and naval expenses in 1907 was $1,184,000,000. If you were to count in France, Italy, Austria-Hungary, Spain, and other nations, and make allowance for the increase year by year, it is probable that

in 1910 the expense would be $2,000,000,000 for the most enlightened nations of the world, because of their military establishments. It is simply impossible that such a pace should continue.

What is going to bring this mad military expenditure to an end? One of the first factors will be the economic waste involved in this enormous cost. This problem is sure to be settled in the long run as an economic one. The nations of the earth cannot go on in this mad rush for naval expansion. The burden, if not intolerable, will be intolerable in a very few years. If we study the growth of great movements in politics, if we consider the factors that have made for greater human liberty, it is surprising how many of these movements have had their mainspring and their substantial support in the desire of the peoples to be relieved from unjust or oppressive burdens of taxation. With these $2,000,000,000 raised from the civilised nations, this condition will not last long before there will be—I will not say an uprising—but such opposition that it must be brought to a stop. We may safely say that, just as it is always darkest before day, so light is already beginning to peer through the darkness.

A nation, like an individual, has a mission to perform. Our participation in so many arbitrations gives us an advantage. It is the golden opportunity which I trust we may grasp, that mankind in this later day may look to our country to take the lead in the paths that will lead to the world's peace.

Senator Burton, as a member of the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, did not share the apprehensions of the majority that the treaties with Great Britain and France went too far, and it was the surest indication that this Ohioan stood with President Taft on the unlimited arbitration platform erected as a means to insure world peace. It is well that the

majority report, as well as the minority report, attracted public attention, and that arbitration and its consequences were discussed in the newspapers as no peace question has ever before been discussed.

The peace movement of the Ohio Valley has centred in the two cities, Cincinnati and Cleveland. But apart from what the Cincinnati Peace and Arbitration Society is doing in furtherance of the cause, and notwithstanding the good work of the Cleveland Peace Society, it is the Intercollegiate Peace Association which has been unique in its working operations.

It is unquestionably due in no small degree to Dean Rogers' tireless efforts in behalf of both the Cincinnati Peace and Arbitration Society and the Intercollegiate Peace Association that such excellent results have been achieved in both instances. In the case of the Intercollegiate body, this is an association working along oratorical lines with peace as its perpetual theme. All through the colleges of the Middle West the peace-oratory idea has caught the fancy of the students and faculty. But the scope of the society now extends throughout the country. With Dr. Charles F. Thwing as president and Professor Stephen F. Weston, secretary, the organisation is now prepared to work valiantly for international arbitration through its particular channels.

In a statement by former Secretary George Fulk, the purpose of the Intercollegiate Peace Association is given as follows:

> The policy has been adopted of promoting local students' peace societies wherever feasible, and where this is not feasible, to have local history and political science clubs foster the local interests of the Intercollegiate Peace Association. This policy has been pursued in the larger

universities. The association is affiliated with the American Peace Society and with "Corda Fratres," international Federation of Students. The affiliation with "Corda Fratres" places the students' organised peace movement on a truly international basis.

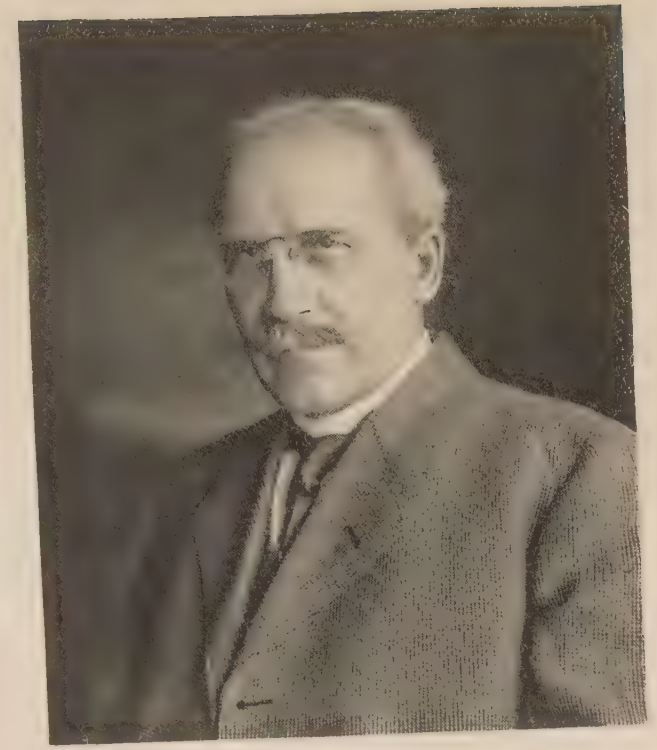
Your committee is assured that the movement will encounter no opposition in the colleges and universities but will meet with their sympathetic and active co-operation. It will find in them forces already powerfully operating to secure international peace. There are no places where the rich and the poor meet daily in more friendly intercourse. The representatives of different creeds, which have so often been convulsed with devastation and wars, worship and live amicably together and learn religious tolerance. In every department of instruction, students are taught their indebtedness to all nations for the knowledge which they acquire. From them come our most eminent jurists and our ablest exponents of international law. Their intercollegiate games, however fiercely they may be conducted, are essentially good natured and promote fellowship. An appeal to reason is the ultimate tribunal in their disputes. Scholarship is no longer provincial, but international, and has become one of the most powerful agencies in bringing the nations of the earth into peaceful relations. The students who are travelling to all lands in pursuit of knowledge are among the most efficient peace makers. Those young men who have come from China and Japan to the universities and colleges of America and Europe will do more to prevent war between the Orient and the Occident than all our navies. These international congresses of scholars and scientists which are becoming more frequent and more important will prove among our most impregnable strongholds.

According to President Thwing, of the Western Reserve University, the women of Cleveland have been especially active in the peace society of that city. The churches have likewise co-operated to a great extent.

An Ohioan scarcely less concerned in the international conciliation plan than President Taft is Jacob G. Schmidlapp, chairman of the board of trustees of the Union Savings Bank and Trust Company, of Cincinnati. He has the President's complete confidence in all matters appertaining to the propaganda dear to both. Mr. Schmidlapp, as previously stated, is one of the trustees of the Carnegie Peace Foundation, and he is also the treasurer for the American Society for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes. His influence has been far-reaching. There was every reason why he should play the host to Baron d'Estournelles during the latter's visit to the Queen City.

It is not at all impossible that at some future day the arbitration workers of Cincinnati will have the direct co-operation of President Taft. That he proposes to go from the White House straight to the city of his birth he has announced on more than one occasion. The most recent announcement to that effect was made when members of the Commercial Club, of Cincinnati, paid their respects to their fellow-townsman on the occasion of the President's silver wedding. There was nothing in his words which indicated that he proposed in the future to do more or less than he is doing for universal peace at present. At the same time, there is significance in what he said about going back to his home city when he spoke as follows:

> The prospects of going back to a less active life has in it at this time some phases that are welcome and some that are unwelcome. The necessity for labour which will follow my retirement, however, relieves me somewhat from anxiety on that score. There is as yet, so far as I have been informed, no provision for an ex-President; and while I do not wish to hold any competition to the two lawyers who



Prof. S. F. Weston,
Secretary Intercollegiate Peace Association.
Photo by Purdy, Boston, Mass.

President Charles F. Thwing,
Western Reserve University Cleveland, Ohio;
President Intercollegiate Peace Association.
Photo by Purdy, Boston, Mass.

honour this club, I wish to say to the rest of the members of this club that I shall open an office, and be ready for business, not at an old, but at a very new stand.

It will be now, when my son Robert comes back to Cincinnati to practise law, four generations of us in Cincinnati, and while it has been pressed on him and on me to have him go to some place where possibly his emoluments would be larger, I am determined, and he sympathises with me, that he shall go to the home that knew his great-grandfather and his grandfather and his father, and there he shall work out his life under the influences that I hope will be favourable to his success—at least in restraining him within the path and the limitations of an honourable life.

If the fortunes of political life continue to favour President Taft, he will be unable to make good his promise regarding himself until the opening of the Panama Canal, the San Francisco Exposition, and the occupancy of the White House term for 1912-1916 have become matters of the past. With Senator Burton president of the American Peace Society, it is interesting to recall that when William Howard Taft was placed in nomination in 1908 it was Theodore E. Burton, Senator from Ohio, who did the honours. In view of what has transpired since August 3d, when the treaties were signed in Washington and Paris, it is essential to the recording of American peace events during the year 1911–1912 to give a retrospect of the President's activities in the direction of arbitration.

CHAPTER XIV

THE PEACE PRESIDENT TO THE COUNTRY

His Heart-to-Heart Talk with the Veterans of the Grand Army of the Republic—President Taft Gives Some Inside Facts about the Treaties—Affirms there is No Attempt to Encroach upon the Privileges of the Senate—The Newspapers with the Chief Executive—The Position of the *Outlook* and the Contributing Editor—Dr. Lyman Abbott Long an Advocate of Judicial Settlements of International Disputes—Mr. Roosevelt's Achievements as World-Pacifier—The Cincinnati Conference—John Hays Hammond, on His Retirement as President of the American Judicial Society, Delivers Stirring Address—Draws Attention to Foolish Expenditures apropos Militarism—Dean Keppel, of Columbia University, and President Dabney, of University of Cincinnati, Make Important Comments—The Panama Canal Bill.

THE country was told to what extent President Taft felt the public pulse during his extensive tour in the summer of 1911. He spoke to business men, farmers, workers in field and shop on the great issue that impended relative to international peace. There was little to show at that time that the wishes of the nation were other than that the treaties, as negotiated, should be ratified by the Senate.

On August 23d, in advance of his "swing-around-the-circle," President Taft addressed the Grand Army of the Republic Encampment, at Rochester, N. Y., when he answered the Senate Committee's objection to the peace treaties as follows:

I do not come before you in opposition to the Senate and I do not wish to criticise the majority of the committee that

has reported an amendment. I am only anxious to promote as full a public discussion of the questions now arising in respect to the confirmation of the treaties as possible, because I feel confident that a public discussion of the matter, followed by popular expression, will aid much in the clarification of the subject in the Senate itself and will lead to convincing a majority of that body, and perhaps all, of the wisdom of the prompt ratification of the treaties as they were signed. I am especially anxious to emphasise the fact that I do not wish to be put in antagonism to the Senate.

Those who have objected to the treaty have first suggested that the organisation of the joint high commission, with the power given to either party to secure a reference of a controversy to it for consideration for a year, makes it a breeder of war. I confess myself unable to follow the force of such an argument. The difficulties connected with the initiation of proceedings under any treaty and the appointment of six commissioners with the expense and delay attendant upon it, are all likely to prevent an invitation to a cumbersome negotiation like this when the ordinary channels of diplomacy are open.

It is not disputable that the Senate may agree to arbitrate a class of questions in advance of their arising in the future. At least it would not lie with the present Senate to dispute this, because it has already made many treaties in which it has agreed to arbitrate all classes of questions except certain classes which are specified. If it has the right to agree to arbitration in the future upon any class of questions, and be bound by such an agreement, it is impossible to escape the conclusion that it may be bound to arbitrate the question of the construction of a treaty in the future.

Objection has been made that under the first section of this treaty it might be claimed that we would be called upon to submit to arbitration the Monroe Doctrine, our right to exclude foreign peoples from our shores, or the question of the validity of the Southern bonds issued in reconstruction

days. These suggestions have nothing in them. The question of the Monroe policy is not a justifiable one. It is one of purely governmental policy which we have followed for a century, and which the countries of Europe have generally acquiesced in. Certainly with respect to this very matter, Sir Edward Grey, the English Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, has announced publicly that the Monroe policy could not be disputed by them under this treaty and would not come within its terms.

With respect to the exclusion of immigrants, it is a principle of international law that each country may allow those to come to its shores whom it chooses to have admitted to the country and may reject others, and that this is a subject of democratic policy which no foreign country can interfere in, unless it is covered by a treaty, and then it may become properly a question of treaty construction. But in the absence of a treaty it is not an arbitrable question.

With reference to the right to involve the United States in a controversy over the obligations of certain Southern States to pay bonds issued during reconstruction which have been repudiated, it is sufficient to say that such a question would not come within the treaty, for the treaty only affects cases hereafter arising, and the cases of the Southern bonds all arose years ago.

The newspapers of the country in their report of President Taft's Rochester address almost as with one voice upheld him editorially in his argument to have the treaties ratified as signed. The frank talk of the President to the veterans proved the keynote for his arbitration speeches while on his tour through the Middle West and the West. But as an earnest that the President is not particularly concerned how the joint high commission is made up, the speech made by him at Erie, Pa., on September 16th, goes to prove that the chief executive will accommodate himself to almost any

arrangement that will bring about the identical result, namely, the prevention of war. At Erie, President Taft said:

The proposed treaties make a decided advance upon existing treaties, because they do not leave it to the decision of either party to say whether the question is a justiciable one under the first section of the treaty, but they leave it to a joint high commission to consist of three nationals of one party and three nationals of the other—that is, three subjects or citizens of one party and three subjects or citizens of the other—to decide by a vote, either unanimous or of five to one, whether the question arising is justiciable or not, and if they decide it is justiciable, then the executive and the Senate are in duty bound and in treaty bound to take the steps necessary to a proper submission of the question to a board of arbitration.

Now if the Senate desires, or if Congress desires, there is no reason why the three nationals—that is, the three Americans who are to be appointed upon such a joint high commission—should not be confirmed by the Senate if it is thought dangerous to trust the President only to make the appointment. It could be reasonably assumed that three Americans would not be likely to decide a question against their own government, or that two out of three would so decide a question if there were any real ground for rendering a decision in favour of their own country.

But I go much farther than this [the President said]. I would be willing to leave the question of whether an issue arising between two countries is justiciable or not to the decision of a board of arbitration, which is ultimately to decide arbitrable questions. I would be willing to have that board pass not only upon the merits of the question, but also upon the jurisdiction, and ultimately I have no doubt we will come to that.

While the President at Erie placed himself on record

as willing to accept any compromise that would bring about unlimited arbitration, he maintained his determined attitude to have the public know all the circumstances. Few there are who did not wonder why former President Roosevelt placed himself in opposition to the treaties as constructed. Whatever may have been Colonel Roosevelt's reasons the fact remains that while he has written his objections into the publication of which he is the associate editor, the editor-in-chief was of a different opinion than his associate. On September 9th, the *Outlook* published an editorial under the caption, "The General Arbitration Treaty. How Will It Work?" the first paragraph of which reads as follows and explains itself:

The *Outlook* has advised the peace societies, or some of them, to issue a pamphlet containing the majority and minority reports of the United States on the General Arbitration Treaty, with the ablest arguments they can obtain in support of that treaty. In this spirit we present to our readers the arguments for and against the treaty. Mr. Roosevelt, who disapproves this treaty, in an editorial on another page, states the grounds of his disapproval. The *Outlook*, which approves the treaty, will, in three editorials of which this is the first, state the grounds of its approval. We shall thus do what we can to promote that general discussion which we believe to be desirable. For if this treaty is adopted by our Senate without public discussion and popular understanding of its provisions, it will be wholly ineffectual. But if the American people understand its provisions, if they consider carefully the objections to it, if, after such consideration, they deliberately adopt it and make it their own, it will stand the test if an hour of trial should come. The way to secure the observance of this treaty in the future is by a full, free, and thorough discussion of its provisions now.

It would have been strange if Dr. Lyman Abbott, whose work in behalf of international peace has stood the test of many years, had expressed himself otherwise than he did relative to the treaties then awaiting ratification in the Senate. But there is hardly a doubt that Mr. Roosevelt himself is labouring in the interest of universal peace along a pathway that he considers best for its accomplishment. The former President does speak of a "peace of righteousness," at variance with what some others define peace and righteousness to be. But it cannot be denied that the American Nobel Prize winner has had opportunity like few men in authority to test the practicability of arbitration and to know its superiority over war. Mr. Roosevelt's lecture, as delivered before the Nobel Prize committee of Christiania, is an arbitration document than which few others cover the ground more thoroughly. Then, as now, however, the former President sticks to his "guns" in the matter of the American nation not committing itself entirely. And yet he said, and here he comes close to the idea of the present occupant of the White House:

> All really civilised communities should have effective arbitration treaties among themselves. I believe that these treaties can cover almost all questions liable to arise between such nations, if they are drawn with the explicit agreement that each contracting party will respect the other's territory and its absolute sovereignty within that territory, and the equally explicit agreement that (aside from the very rare cases where the nation's honour is vitally concerned) all other possible subjects of controversy will be submitted to arbitration.

Of course President Taft, and those who are with him in the treaties as drawn, take international disputes

and international questions of honour to be quite identical. The last National Peace Congress gave convincing proof that representative men in all walks of life were with the President in his world-plea for universal arbitration.

The identical sentiments were expressed when on November 7 and 8, 1911, the National Conference of the American Society for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes met in Cincinnati and was addressed by President Taft. The home city of the chief executive of the nation rose to the occasion and whether in Music Hall, where the President spoke to the conference, or at the social functions in his honour, his references to international arbitration were enthusiastically received.

It is interesting to recall that exactly a year before, in Washington, during the preceding conference of the American Society for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes, President Taft delivered the peace message the novelty of which resounded around the world. It was then he declared that nations could include the most vital matters of national honour as arbitrable, and at Cincinnati he was even more emphatic in insisting upon international arrangements that would forever banish war from the minds of men.

President Taft in his address before the conference in Music Hall, Cincinnati, declared that the fortification of the Panama Canal had nothing to do with whatever arbitration measures were in the making between this government and foreign nations. He contended that it was the duty of the United States to proceed with caution in all things. The President went into the merits of the pending treaties with Great Britain and France and told his hearers that their ratification

presaged greater things in the domain of internationalism. At the banquet tendered the distinguished visitors to the conference by the Commercial Club, President Taft again impressed his Cincinnati friends and others with his earnestness relative to a better understanding between the nations of the two hemispheres.

Some of the speeches made at the conference in Cincinnati sounded warnings that the industrial and financial world must realise applied directly to the prosperity of the country. John Hays Hammond had then just returned from England where he had been the special ambassador at the coronation of King George. His words were listened to with the closest attention as he said:

No one who witnessed the imposing naval review concluding the coronation ceremonies of King George V, or that of our own splendid fleet a few days ago, could, after his admiration for the spectacle itself had found expression, fail to have been impressed, upon second sober thought, with the futility, the folly, the wickedness of the tremendous financial expenditure represented in the construction of these colossal instruments of destruction.

The great Christian nations of the world are to-day spending in preparation for war—or, to express it more euphemistically, for armed peace—upwards of one and a half billion annually. It is indeed a futile expenditure in that it serves no useful purpose. It is indeed a foolish expenditure in that the object for which it is designed—naval supremacy—is not attained, since no radical changes are permanently effected in the relative strength of the armaments of the competing powers. It is indeed a wicked expenditure in that it diverts this enormous sum of money from such worthy purposes as the alleviation of suffering humanity.

Of the total expenditures of our national government,

over seventy per cent. is for past wars and preparedness for war. We are expending annually about two hundred and fifty millions of dollars upon the army and the navy.

Now, I am eliminating the humane aspect [Mr. Hammond said], and am considering the cost of "armed peace" only from the monetary—the material—point of view, for in time of peace we forget the horrors of war and its great cost in human lives.

As I have said, the present conditions preclude the possibility of international disarmament, and, indeed, render extremely improbable even the limitation of armaments. Pessimists contend that we cannot expect to put a stop to militarism until human nature itself has changed—and that is a slow process; but from that opinion we "idealists" dissent, believing, as we do, that a change of customs and not of human nature is all that is required, and customs, as we know, change quickly. Is not the abolition of duelling as a means of vindicating personal honour due to a change in custom, rather than a change in human nature?

Mr. Hammond took up the question of the general arbitration treaties and gave it as his opinion that the arbitral court for the settlement of international disputes was the only solution of the vexed problem.

The distinct judicial tone that marked the Cincinnati Conference naturally attracted many of the leading jurists of Ohio to the meetings. But from outside the State there had come to the gathering some of the most prominent lawyers in the country. Professor F. Keppel, Dean of Columbia University and Secretary of the American Association for International Conciliation, was among those who struck a fresh note in regard to peace and public appreciation of the movement.

I think we cannot well overestimate [said Professor Keppel] the rapidity with which public opinion throughout

the world, and certainly in the United States, is advancing to the belief that war and civilisation cannot any longer go hand in hand. People will talk carelessly, and newspapers may print carelessly, but in the bottom of their hearts they know that the tide has turned, and that for the first time in history war is on the defensive. Just as in the case of the last great social institution to be abandoned by the civilised world, human slavery, the moment came a little more than half a century ago when the term "abolitionist" ceased to be one of scorn and reproach, and came to denote progressiveness; so the moment has come when the advocate of peace among nations has ceased to be regarded as a crank, and is looked up to as a leader among men.

Though the work has begun and has progressed far beyond the fondest hopes of a decade ago, the need of its vigorous and intelligent prosecution was never greater than at this moment. The thinking people of this country are literally thirsting for knowledge upon international matters. In a campaign of this magnitude there is a place for almost every type of organised and intelligent effort. The great advances are made, as in other causes, when a great man seizes his opportunity to fire the public imagination as did President Taft at a dinner of this very society last year, when, in a single sentence, he broadened the fundamental conceptions of international arbitration, or when Sir Edward Grey, in the House of Commons, answered his ringing call from across the Atlantic. These appeals, to which the whole world must needs listen, are now for other men to make. We can all do much to prepare public opinion.

It was decidedly fitting that, at the banquet of the society, Dr. Charles William Dabney, President of the University of Cincinnati, should be one of the chief speakers and that his subject should have concerned itself principally with the economic and moral laws that, as President Dabney put it, rule nations instead of war.

For several days you have been in conference [said President Dabney], discussing the subject of the settlement of the disputes of nations by judicial process instead of by the shedding of blood. During these sessions, the President of the United States, who should be hailed as the commander-in-chief of the world's campaign for peace, has told us of the plans for inaugurating these beneficent methods in the case of our country, France, and England; our watchman on the Tower of State has read the signals and interpreted for us the news from the field; philosophers have taught us the principles underlying this programme and told us of the difficulties in the way, while financiers and philanthropists have recounted again the wastes of war and the reasons for its abolition.

Having, so to speak, been born into civil war—the worst kind of war at that; having been reared from infancy to youth between the lines of contending armies in Eastern Virginia where the home was constantly full of sick and wounded, and having heard little from father and uncles thereafter besides stories of war and its ravages, I too, believed until I was a grown man that war was the permanent state of human society and would inevitably return to ravage my country in my time. But you and I have lived to see a marvellous change, not merely in America, but throughout the world.

We understand the reason for this. War destroys production both with the conquered and the conquerors, and therefore cuts off dividends. For this reason economic pressure has, in the modern world, taken the place of physical force in the old. Rome was a society of masters and slaves—fighting slaves, working slaves, farming slaves; the emperor himself was the first slave in the empire. But in our modern times, it is the inventor, the organiser, and the capitalist who control business and the affairs of nations.

It is true economically, as it is morally, that war injures the aggressor as well as his victim. Spencer taught that mastery entails on the master himself a slavery most

President Taft Delivering Address on Peace at Clinton, Iowa.

Photo by Underwood & Underwood.

pronounced. The prisoner tied with a rope and led by his conqueror makes him a slave also. For the conqueror must always hold the other end of the rope until he sets his captive free.

Militancy leads to parasitism. The robber makes the beggar. The history of nations teaches that the people who remain military and do not become industrial, decay; while those who take part in the work of the world prosper and develop, and in time cease to be military.

On several occasions, President Taft has said that at one time or other he hopes to return to Cincinnati and resume his practise of law. The Queen City naturally is proud of a citizen who like William Howard Taft has brought honour to the State that has produced so many presidents.

The Arbitration and Peace Society of Cincinnati anticipates a new era for the work which has proceeded so auspiciously in that city and surrounding country. The president of the society is D. B. Meacham, a member of one of the greatest iron concerns in the United States whose influence is bound to count for much. James B. Stanwood is treasurer of the society with G. W. Dubois, secretary. The executive committee consists of the following: Harry J. Atkins, Mrs. Hermine G. Hansen, Miss Annie Laws, Prof. E. D. Lyons, Mrs. Lawrence Maxwell, Prof. P. V. N. Myers, C. B. Murray, Rabbi David Philipson, General Michael Ryan, Dean W. P. Rogers, Rev. G. A. Thayer.

When the United States Senate voted to allow American coastwise shipping free passage through the Panama Canal and the President signed the bill, a hue and cry went up that this meant the death-knell to all international arbitration because the legislation violated

the Hay-Pauncefote treaty. That President Taft did not like the exact wording of the bill he showed emphatically by what he told the Senate. At the same time, with so many other excellent clauses contained in the Canal bill, the President considered it his duty to sign the measure. He had already intimated that the courts might be chosen to settle the differences in dispute, but on the whole he spoke mostly in an advisory capacity.

Time will undoubtedly take care of the Panama Canal toll question. Europe, it is true, did not take kindly to the Senate's action. There was not wanting the argument that President Taft had gone counter to his own ideals and ideas when he signed the bill. With such rare exceptions as *The Nation*, of England, most foreign newspapers denounced the act. But in certain influential quarters there is already evident a different view than that the United States has violated treaty obligations by permitting free passage to American coastwise shipping.

As for the President, in his address at New London, Conn., before the Atlantic Deeper Waterways Convention, he said significantly :

> There were some things in the Panama bill I did not think germane, and might as well have been left out. Of course we are not in favor of violating a treaty with a foreign power, but we have the same right to interpret the treaty that they have. I was in favor of settling the question of the construction of the treaty by conferring jurisdiction on courts to hear the case. We should consider all sides of the controversy before we charge that there has been a violation of the treaty.

CHAPTER XV

LEADERS WITHIN THE NATION

National Peace Congress, at Baltimore, Opened by President Taft—First Time a Chief Executive Acted in that Capacity—The President Warns Not to Expect Too Much from Treaties—Hamilton Holt Presides over Congress—James A. Speyer, New York Banker, Suggests Financial Neutrality as a Barrier against War—Assistant Secretary of State, Huntingdon Wilson, Defines "Dollar Diplomacy"—Former Secretary of State John W. Foster, on the Need for More Stringent Neutrality Laws—Theodore Marburg's Work Productive to a Degree—The Maryland Peace Society—Important National Conferences and Congresses.

WHEN President Taft, on the third of May, last year, opened the Third National Peace Congress, at Baltimore, it was the first time in the history of any nation that a chief executive acted in a similar capacity, thereby placing governmental approval upon the movement. But even as the President made the opening address, at what proved one of the most important gatherings of the kind on record, he warned his hearers that though the arbitration treaties meant to advance civilisation decidedly, too much should not be expected by the proposed arrangement.

Your chairman [said the President], has been good enough to refer to my expressed opinion that an arbitration treaty of the widest scope between two great nations would be very important toward securing peace for the world. I don't claim any patent for a new discovery in that suggestion, because I have no doubt that it has often been made

before and has long been shared by all who understand the situation.

If an arbitration treaty can be concluded I have no doubt that an important step will have been taken, but it will not bring an end to war. It is a step only, and we must not defeat our purposes by enlarging the expectations of the world as to what is to happen and by then disappointing it. We must realise that we are dealing with a world that is fallible and full of weakness, and that reforms that are worth having are brought about little by little and not by one blow. I don't mean to say by this that I am not greatly interested and enthusiastic in seeking to secure the arbitration treaties that are suggested; but I do think we are likely to make more progress if we express our hope with moderation, and realise the difficulties that ought to be overcome, than if we proclaim that we have opened the gate to eternal peace with one key and within one year.

The President declared that in his opinion it was one of the evidences of the advancement of the peace movement in the world that all state departments, all foreign chancellors are organising into agencies for the promotion of peace by negotiation.

The recurrence of war [the President said], is not now as frequent between stable and powerful governments maintaining law and order within their respective borders as it is in those governments which do not exercise complete control over their people, and in which revolutions and insurrections break out, not only to the injury and danger of the people and their property and the government itself, but to the disturbance of all the world in their neighbourhood. It is with reference to disturbances of this kind that the United States and the other great republics of this hemisphere must exercise their kindly and peaceful influence as much as possible.

The President referred to the collection of customs in Santo Domingo as an instance where the United States government had extended a friendly hand to a weaker sister. He declared that the good relationship that existed with that republic had enabled this country to intervene and bring about the submission to The Hague of a controversy which threatened war between Santo Domingo and Hayti.

It is a fact that the presence at Baltimore of President Taft gave a distinction to the national peace gathering. The congress as a whole was the most important ever held in this country. The delegates were representatives of American culture, American finance, American nationalism and internationalism in their fullest sense. It is difficult to say which of the many addresses besides the President's stood out most conspicuously.

Hamilton Holt, managing editor of *The Independent*, was president of the Congress. Mr. Holt is one of the best-informed American editors in matters relative to arbitration. In his address he reviewed the work of the First National Peace Congress, held in New York, in 1907, and how this congress was in the nature of a preliminary to the Second Hague Conference, two months later. When the Second National Peace Congress convened in Chicago, in 1909, the Second Hague Conference had passed into history. Mr. Holt quoted Senator Root's estimate to the effect that the Hague Conference "presents the greatest advance ever made at a single time toward the reasonable and peaceful regulation of international conduct, unless it be the advance made at the Hague Conference of 1899."

The peace movement [said Mr. Holt], we have now come to realise, is nothing but the process of substituting law for

war. The world has already learned to substitute law for war in hamlets, towns, cities, states, and even within the forty-six sovereign civilised nations. But in that international realm over and above each nation in which each nation is equally sovereign, the only way at the present moment for a nation to secure its rights is by the use of force. The world is now using a Christian code of ethics for individuals and a pagan code for nations, though there is no double standard of ethics in the moral world. In other words, the nations are in the state of civilisation where without a qualm they claim the right to settle their disputes in a manner which they would actually put their own subjects to death for imitating. Thus the peace problem is nothing but the ways and means of doing between the nations what has already been done within the nations.

Mr. Holt suggested the formation of a league of peace. The platform of such a league of peace, the speaker said, should have arbitration as its base. The nations within the league would have to refer all disputes to a board of arbitration.

Andrew Carnegie's appearance before the National Congress elicited rounds of applause which the great peacemaker acknowledged by paying a tribute to President Taft for his intense interest in the world movement.

As long as history endures [Mr. Carnegie exclaimed], and records of great events are kept, so long must one name shine with glorious lustre. Gentlemen, in an inspired moment our leader saw a great light. How, when, and where we know not. Probably the message came to him in a flash, and he was guided he knew not how, but surely the angel of the Lord appeared and entrusted to him the divine mission.

I was beholding the greatest national wonder in the

world, the Grand Cañon, last spring, when the New York papers arrived and I read the President's divine message. I could not refrain from writing him a letter which perhaps surprised him, but, gentlemen, I have seen the great light. I occupy a strange position: Britain is my motherland, the republic my wifeland. I love them both, and to see my native and adopted lands hand in hand, leading the world to peace would be a new charm to my life.

Baron d'Estournelles did not reach Baltimore in time for meeting President Taft. His participation in the National Peace Congress, besides, was of a rather tentative nature. The French statesman expected to be informed rather than inform those in attendance. But at the great banquet in the Belvedere Hotel, the Baron with Speaker Clark and others spoke about world-factors that made for universal peace. Having for two months told Americans what he believed would make for international amity, the French visitor took advantage of the opportunity to hear what his colleagues this side the Atlantic had to tell about the movement. The list of speakers contained such well-known names as ex-Secretary of State John W. Foster, Senator Burton, Congressman Richard Bartholdt, James Brown Scott, William C. Dennis, Huntingdon Wilson, assistant Secretary of State; John Barrett, Director-General of the Pan-American Union; James S. Speyer, the New York banker; Senator La Fontaine, of Belgium.

Mr. Speyer, a delegate of the New York Chamber of Commerce, spoke about the influence of international investments in time of peace. Taking up the question of what should and could be done in time of war by first-class powers, he said there are to-day certain governments which will not allow their bankers to place foreign loans in the home market, in time of

peace, unless the purposes for which the loan is to be used are known and approved, and at least part of the proceeds are used by the borrowing nations for expenditures in such home markets for the benefit of the lending nation.

If such supervision and control of the bankers already exists in time of peace [Mr. Speyer said], it does not seem a wide flight of imagination to suggest, that the great powers might agree to exercise such control in times of war between third parties and to maintain in future what, for want of a better term, might be called financial neutrality; in case two nations went to war without first submitting their grievances to arbitration or judicial settlement at The Hague, why should the other neutral powers not bind themselves not to assist either of the belligerents financially, but to see to it that real neutrality was observed by their banks and bankers? There is little doubt that this could be done. If no fiscal assistance could be obtained from the outside, few nations would, in the face of this most effective neutrality of the other powers, incur the peril of bankruptcy. War would certainly last a much shorter time.

Acting on a resolution submitted by Isaac N. Seligman, also a delegate to the Congress, Mr. Speyer's suggestion was adopted by the National Peace body for submission to the Hague Court at its next conference. While not wholly new, the idea had never before been presented by leading financiers, and it was for this reason that leading newspapers in America and Europe discussed in full the effect that financial neutrality would have on the nations contemplating war.

In the light of Mr. Speyer's plan the conciliation between Germany and France regarding Morocco takes on a new meaning. Financial neutrality bears out what Norman Angell advances in his book, *The Great*

Illusion. Mr. Angell avers that the rise of a universal credit system, with its sensitive correspondence between the several great banking centres, brings it to pass that economic damage inflicted upon any one of the capitals of Europe must necessarily be shared by all other capitals. Every military aggression now amounts to an assault upon the prosperity of the aggressor, he says, and international wars in Europe cannot possibly be made to pay. Hence what Mr. Angell terms "The Great Illusion."

Nothing that Baron d'Estournelles had learned since his arrival in the United States impressed him more than the earnest endeavours of the American financiers and industrial experts to prevent wars in the future. Mr. Speyer's financial neutrality plan was a case in point. But scarcely less interesting than the New York banker's address was the speech by Assistant Secretary of State Wilson when the latter took for his subject "The True Meaning of Dollar Diplomacy," which he defined as international commerce in its relation to national progress. The assistant secretary of state took the position that international commerce conduces powerfully to international sympathy.

The newly coined phrase "Dollar Diplomacy" [said the speaker], means the substitution of dollars for bullets. It means the creation of a prosperity which will be preferred to predatory strife. It recognises that financial soundness is a potent factor in political stability; that prosperity means contentment, and contentment means repose.

This thought is the basis of the policy of the United States in Central America and the zone of the Caribbean. There this policy is one of special helpfulness in a neighbourhood where peace and progress are especially important to the United States and where, moreover, they are due the

aspirations and the splendid resources of the peoples of those neighbouring republics. In China the same principle has been invoked to enable the United States to take its share in the material, as it has in the moral and intellectual development of that great empire.

In so far as our diplomacy is commercially successful, we are proud of the fact. We are not above being practical and commercial, and as commerce means contact, so contact means understanding. Great things can be accomplished along certain lines, and the criticism that the peace propaganda is unpractical has not yet been justified.

Much can be done by active interest in, and intelligent support of, the every day practical policies of government, which, if looked at otherwise than superficially, will be found to be very real measures toward peace. Such is the policy so wonderfully successful in Santo Domingo; such are the broad principles involved in the Honduras loan convention now before the Senate.

It is almost to state a syllogism, to say that next to national character the greatest factor toward peace is true international understanding, and that, after diplomacy, the newspapers play the most important part in bringing about or retarding such true understanding. Thinking of Mr. Carnegie's munificent gift, it occurs to me that the establishment and subsidy of four or five newspapers in Latin-America and the far East, to give adequate telegraphic news, service, would be a splendid and proper means to that international true understanding which must be the basis of peace.

For many years an ardent supporter of the peace movement, ex-Secretary of State John W. Foster, in one of his characteristic arbitration addresses, blamed the lax neutrality laws for much of the trouble that Mexico was then experiencing. One of the foremost authorities on international law, Mr. Foster is always

followed with close attention. The former Secretary of State suggested that the present law should undergo certain modifications so that restrictions should be placed upon the free commerce as a mercantile commodity of arms and munitions of war. He believed that power should be conferred upon the President to limit or suspend, in his discretion, their export across the border in time of disturbance. He considered that it was necessary to make it unlawful for Americans to enter the military service of any power or chief at war with a nation with which we are at peace. Mr. Foster said that it was the personal aid of Americans that gave strength to the Canadian Rebellion in 1838.

In this respect [he stated], the laws of France, Great Britain, and other countries are in advance of ours. The British foreign enlistment act of 1870 makes it unlawful for any British subject to enter the military service of any power at war with a nation with which its government is at peace; and it subjects them to heavy fine and imprisonment. In all its neutrality proclamations on the breaking out of hostilities in other nations, the British government notifies its subjects of the penalties they will incur under their own laws, and it further warns them that they will enter such service at their own peril, in no wise obtain any protection from their own government and must suffer such penalties as the enemy may inflict upon them. We certainly should do no less than this.

Our first neutrality acts were passed during Washington's first administration, and they were put into their present shape in 1818. At the time of their enactment they marked a great advance in international law and practice, and gained for our country great credit. But they have proved to be too limited in their scope.

At the banquet which closed the National Peace

Congress, Champ Clark, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, acted as toast-master. Among those in attendance were William C. Dennis, of Washington; Professor Leo S. Rowe, of the University of Pennsylvania; Benjamin F. Trueblood, Secretary of the American Peace Society; Charles F. Thwing, President of the Western Reserve University; Dr. Talcott Williams, Philadelphia; President Ira Remsen, of Johns Hopkins University; Congressman Richard Bartholdt; Congressman James A. Slayden, Texas; Edwin D. Mead, Secretary World Peace Foundation; Professor Samuel T. Dutton; Edwin Ginn; James Brown Scott, Secretary Carnegie Peace Fund; Price Collier; John Barrett, Director-General Pan-American Union; Dr. T. Iyenaga, Japan; Theodore Marburg, Baltimore; Cardinal Gibbons, Dr. Lyman Abbott.

Resolutions crystallising the sentiments which have inspired the sessions of the Third Peace Congress were passed at the conclusion of the congress. The resolutions contained a hearty endorsement of the Federal administration for its efforts in behalf of world-wide peace and for the establishment of an international prize court and the International Court of Arbitral Justice. The financial neutrality suggestion of James Speyer was incorporated in the resolutions, and the government was urged to continue its efforts to obtain unlimited arbitration treaties. The proposed celebration of the one hundred years of peace between all English-speaking people was approved, and the gratitude of the congress was expressed to Andrew Carnegie and Edwin Ginn for their respective gifts to the cause of peace.

The unqualified success of the Third National Peace Congress was due in a large degree to the unrelenting labours of Theodore Marburg, the chairman of the

executive committee. Both by inclination and endowment, Mr. Marburg is exceptionally well suited to a task like that which confronted him at his home city during the gathering of the delegates to the congress. It was, therefore, almost as a matter of course that he should sum up the labours of the gathering in a treatise, *The Philosophy of the Third American Peace Congress*, issued as a bulletin by the American Association for International Conciliation.

Scarcely a theme discussed at the congress but what Mr. Marburg has made reference to its significance. He follows the arguments, the pleas, the suggestions, along their devious channels; the government, the church, the school, the counting-room, the shop, the mart, all are brought within the compass of Mr. Marburg's summing up, just as these different instrumentalities for national well-being had a hearing at Baltimore.

The President of the Maryland Peace Society, Theodore Marburg has made himself very valuable to the arbitration cause. One of the youngest among peace organisations, the Maryland Society has already attained a conspicuous place among the bodies working practically for international amity. The personnel of the organisation has had much to do with its success. All of the officers are identified with Southern progress. Edward C. Wilson is the secretary and Richard J. White is treasurer. The vice-presidents are James, Cardinal Gibbons, President Ira Remsen, of Johns Hopkins University; Governor A. L Crothers, Judge T. H. Morris, President E. A. Noble, Bishop J. G. Murray, Dr. John F. Goucher, Mayor J. Barry Mahool, Dr. William H. Welch, and R. Brent Keyser.

The directors of the Maryland Peace Society are Richard J. White, Judge Henry D. Harlan, Eugene

Levering, Judge Henry Stockbridge, Edward C. Wilson, Francis M. Jencks, James H. Van Sickle, Superintendent of Schools; Dr. C. V. Von Pirquet, Alford H. Hussey, Douglas M. Wylie, Alfred S. Niles, Bernard N. Baker, Frank N. Hoen, and Jonathan K. Taylor.

As evidencing Mr. Marburg's interest in all that has to do with the movement, there was a gathering at his Baltimore residence of a number of the leading peace workers of the country, preliminary to the holding of the Third National Congress in that city. Plans were formulated which conduced to the great success of the subsequent meetings. The committee on organisation was fortunate in securing the services of Tunstall Smith, who, as organising secretary of the congress, proved himself valuable to the national body. Mr. Smith's experience in a similar capacity when the American Society for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes met in Washington in 1910, stood him in good stead where it was the purpose to make the Baltimore congress a conspicuous event the year following.

The Johns Hopkins Arbitration Society, a recent student organisation of the noted university, co-operates with the Maryland Peace Society. The Friends' School of Baltimore is also closely affiliated with the peace organisation. Co-operating, the Friends' School and the Maryland Peace Society conducted a series of meetings at which noted speakers appeared and told about the world movement. The first lecture was delivered by Thomas Nelson Page on "America as a Peace Maker." Count Apponyi was the next lecturer with "The Menace of War as Europe sees it." Franklin Matthews delivered a talk on "With the Atlantic Fleet Around the World." Baron d'Estournelles was also a visitor.

J. G. Schmidlapp,

Treasurer American Association for International Conciliation.

Photo by The Falk Studio, New York.

Theodore Marburg,

President Maryland Peace Society, Secretary American Society for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes.

Photo by Jeanne E. Bennett, Baltimore, Md.

On the subject of national peace gatherings it is interesting to see what the United States has done in this direction. The first great convocation of this kind occurred in 1893, at Chicago, with the holding of the Fifth Universal Peace Congress, of which Charles C. Bonney was the president. The next important gathering did not take place until 1904, when St. Louis became the meeting place of the Twentieth Interparliamentary Union Conference. Congressman Richard Bartholdt, the president of the American group, was the president of the St. Louis conference.

In 1904 the United States again obtained the Universal Peace Congress. The thirteenth congress was held in Boston, under the presidence of the late Robert Treat Paine, the President of the American Peace Society. Three years later came the First National Peace Congress at New York with Andrew Carnegie as president. In the same year took place the Texas Peace Congress of which President S. P. Brooks, of Baylor University, Waco, was both the founder and the president.

The Pennsylvania Arbitration and Peace Conference was held in Philadelphia with Franklin S. Edmonds as the chairman. The conference took place in May, 1908. In 1909 occurred the Second National Peace Congress, which was held in Chicago, and of which the then Secretary of War, J. M. Dickenson, was the president. It was in 1910 that the New England Arbitration and Peace Conference was held at Hartford, Conn., from May 8th to 11th with Professor Henry Wade Rogers as president. The Third National Peace Congress of Baltimore was followed during the present year by the seventeenth annual Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration, of which President Nicholas

Murray Butler, of Columbia University, was the president. The conferences at Mohonk Lake, made possible through the indefatigable labours and generosity of Albert K. Smiley, the founder, have become such fixed annual affairs that it can be said the United States has a great peace congress each year, usually in May.

CHAPTER XVI

IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF WILLIAM PENN

Pennsylvanians Anxious for World Arbitration—Proud of the Fact that the Keystone State has Contributed Materially and Morally to the Movement—Mass Meeting in the Academy of Music, Philadelphia—The Pennsylvania Arbitration State Conference—Professor William I. Hull, of Swarthmore College—His Value as Secretary and Historian—How Latin America Influenced the Hague Court—The Quaker Element and a Peace policy that has Stood the Test—The Wisdom of William Penn—The Universal Peace Union—Championship of Congressman Griest.

IN the matter of the peace propaganda, touching those who are furthering the cause and contributing to its success, Pennsylvania prides itself upon the fact that it was the Keystone State that laid the foundation for the fortune of Andrew Carnegie and that Philander C. Knox was born in that commonwealth. In the case of Mr. Carnegie, his munificence was the outgrowth of his desire to insure better international relations. As for the work of Mr. Knox, since he is holding the portfolio of Secretary of State, it is an indisputable fact that no former secretary has been more diligent in improving the foreign relations of the American nation.

Baron d'Estournelles, as a personal friend of the iron master, was especially anxious to come to Pittsburg, since it was here, at the exercises during the opening of the great technical institute, the gift of Mr. Carnegie, that the French statesman, a few years before, had been tendered a hearty welcome. In an environment that

literally breathed armament and manufacture of armament the peace apostle from France felt he had a mission to perform when in the spring of last year he reached Pittsburg.

Speaking before a large gathering in Carnegie Hall, he said that only a short time before the Hague Court was looked upon with indifference, a good deal as some people would look upon a French girl without a dowry. Baron d'Estournelles also spoke before the students of the Carnegie Institute of Technology and of the University of Pittsburg. Those in charge of the Carnegie Hall meeting were Bishop Whitehead, Colonel Samuel Harden Church, Chancellor S. B. McCormick, Director A. A. Hammerschlag, Dr. John A. Brashear, Samuel Andrews, John Ray Ewers, Herbert Du Puy, Dr. W. J. Holland and F. R. Babcock.

The mass meeting held in Philadelphia, December 13, under the auspices of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, the Pennsylvania Arbitration and Peace Society, and the Citizens' National Committee for the furtherance of international arbitration, was one of the most important gatherings in the country during the period when the treaties were being discussed and endorsed. The Academy of Music was thronged with the friends of the movement when George Sutherland, Senator from Utah, who presided, called the meeting to order. Colonel Henry Watterson was among the speakers. Representative Martin C. Littleton, of New York, Senator Theodore E. Burton, and others spoke in characteristic fashion. A letter from President Taft to Dr. L. S. Rowe, President of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, and expressing confidence in all that was being done for international peace, was read.

There were present in the Academy of Music many delegates to the Pennsylvania Arbitration State Conference which had been in session during the day in the Common Council Chamber, City Hall. The treaties with Great Britain and France were unanimously endorsed by the State Conference. It is significant to know that many of the ablest jurists in Pennsylvania, professors of international law, members of the bar generally, and business men, went on record as approving in particular the Joint High Commission arranged for in the treaties as first drawn. There are few who will charge these representative Pennsylvanians with not being patriotic, and at the same time they felt that the cause of international peace demanded that as a "Necessary corollary to the binding obligation to submit all justiciable questions to arbitration it is of the utmost importance that the United States should put out of its own power the right to decide, after a dispute arises, whether or not it is justifiable."

The conference from which dates the present activity for peace in the Keystone State was held in Philadelphia May 16 to 19, 1908. The outgrowth of this conference was the formation of the Pennsylvania Arbitration and Peace Society.

Thomas Raeburn White, of Philadelphia, is President of the Pennsylvania Arbitration and Peace Society; William P. Potter, of Philadelphia, and Henry C. Niles, York, Pa., are the vice-presidents; Professor William I. Hull, Swarthmore, is secretary, and Aubrey Howell, Philadelphia, treasurer.

The Board of Directors is as follows: Joshua L. Bailey, Ardmore; Mrs. Edward W. Biddle, Carlisle; Charles C. Binney, Emma Blakiston, George Burnham, Jr., Mary A Burnham, Philadelphia; William T.

Creasy, Catawissa; Lawrence A. Delurey, Villa Nova; Albert C. Dieffenbach, Pittsburg; J. Benjamin Dimmick, Scranton; Franklin S. Edmonds, Philadelphia; John B. Garret, Rosemont; Mrs. Edwin C. Grice, Philadelphia; George W. Guthrie, Pittsburg; Jesse H. Holmes, Swarthmore College; Aubrey Howell, Philadelphia; William I. Hull, Swarthmore College; Oscar S. Kriebel, Pennsburg; Rev. J. Leonard Levy, Pittsburg; James D. Moffatt, Washington and Jefferson College; Reuben O. Moon, Philadelphia; Henry C. Niles, York; A. Mitchell Palmer, Stroudsburg; G. M. Phillips, West Chester; William P. Potter, Supreme Court of Pennsylvania; John M. Reynolds, Bedford; Charles Richardson, Philadelphia; Leo S. Rowe, University of Pennsylvania; Nathan C. Schaeffer, Lancaster; Jane A. Stewart, Thomas Raeburn White, William P. Wilson, Walter M. Wood, Philadelphia; Stanley R. Yarnall, Germantown.

Professor of history at Swarthmore College, William I. Hull, as the secretary of the Pennsylvania Arbitration and Peace Society, has the double advantage of intimate acquaintanceship with the development of internationalism and excellent opportunity to demonstrate for the benefit of students how the peace movement has been a gradual evolution among the nations. With due respect for what other Pennsylvanians have done to further the cause, it is generally admitted that Professor Hull is the historian of the movement within the Keystone domain. He is a frequent contributor to the publications of the American Association for International Conciliation. A pamphlet deals with the United States and Latin America at The Hague. Since Professor Hull attended seven of the conferences and the eleven plenary sessions during the second Hague gathering he has been in a position to acquire valuable

information which he has embodied in many lectures and articles.

Discussing Latin-American activity at The Hague, Professor Hull writes:

> The declaration of the Conference prohibiting a resort to warfare in the air, before the end of the next Conference was adhered to by the United States and by twelve of the eighteen Latin-American delegations; and the other six which voted against the Declaration, or abstained from voting at all, were influenced in this action by their kinsmen the Frenchmen and Spaniards, and also by the consideration that the advantage of the "Great Powers" in the possession of "Dreadnoughts" might be nullified by the use of some new and relatively inexpensive device of the "bird-men."
>
> The various agreements designed to mitigate the horrors of warfare on land, which were supported by the United States, received the Latin Americans' support as well. In regard to the prohibition of "dum-dum" bullets, or bullets which expand or flatten easily in the human body, Latin America has outstripped our own republic in its acceptance. Latin America was also abreast with the best thought of the Conference in regard to the treatment accorded to prisoners of war.
>
> The proposition of the United States for a world treaty of obligatory arbitration, embracing all disputes with the exception of those affecting "vital interests, independence and honour," was championed by Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Peru and Uruguay. Among the addresses delivered in support of obligatory arbitration, those of Ambassador Choate and Dr. Drago rank with the most convincing ever delivered.

Professor Hull has been appointed by President Taft to be Secretary of the United States Commission on the Limitation of Armaments, of which Senator

Burton is the chairman. He has the hearty co-operation of President Joseph Swain, of the educational institution where he teaches history. He is a lecturer for The World Peace Foundation, the author of *The Two Hague Conferences* and *The New Peace Movement*, besides numerous magazine articles dealing with kindred subjects. The bulletins issued by the Pennsylvania Arbitration and Peace Society reveal the painstaking work of its secretary.

The report of the proceedings of the Pennsylvania Arbitration and Peace Conference explains how the conference was

> indirectly inspired by the leading spirits of our national group of the Interparliamentary Union who earnestly desire a series of important State conferences to be held before 1911 and 1913 to "form and provide for an effective representation of public sentiment upon the great issues making for international friendship and world organisation that should signalise the Third Hague Conference." The response of Pennsylvanians to the call of the conference indicates the desire to promote international arbitration and the establishment of permanent courts of justice for the nations. William Penn planned for the "Peace of Europe." It is fitting that the people of his province, grown to a mighty State, should work for the peace of the world.

Conspicuously active for peace, the Philadelphia Friends' Peace Association harks back to the time when William Penn laid the foundation for the movement which under a republican form of government is gathering momentum such as the great Quaker leader could scarcely have conceived. Since those early days, whatever has been accomplished must allow the pioneer workers for peace the credit for paving the way.

Whether it is an educational institution like Swarthmore College, or the Society of Friends with its branches in various parts of the Union, the underlying sentiment of abolition of war has leavened the crude tradition that conflicts must continue.

Looking to New England for a moment, at the Quarterly Meeting of the Society of Friends of Eastern Massachusetts, held at Salem, August 17th, the members urged upon Senators Henry Cabot Lodge and Winthrop Murray Crane the necessity for a ratification of the Taft arbitration treaties. Briefly stated the reasons given were these: Because they contemplate just judicial settlements of international questions in conformity to law and right reason; because the interests of the United States have been protected in these treaties; because, while there is always a risk and venture in every human scheme—there is also opportunity for experience and growth; because other nations are willing to take this risk in order to avoid war; because this is one of the most remarkable opportunities to lift the burden of war from States—from the shoulders of God's poor, to serve the race—which has appeared in human affairs.

There will be two opinions as to whether the Panama Canal should be fortified. Some of the most ardent peace advocates in this country maintain that it is entirely within reason to work for universal peace and at the same time take whatever military precautions may seem necessary in regard to the isthmian waterway. As a matter of established fact, it would run contrary to the sentiments of the Society of Friends to advocate any arrangement which would make militarism effective. For this reason it was consonant with the doctrine of Friends to enter their objections against

the fortification of the Canal. Among recent instances to this effect was the remonstrance sent to Congress by the Philadelphia Friends' Peace Association, of which John B. Garrett is President, and the address presented to President Taft and Congress by a committee of the Representative Meeting of the Philadelphia Friends' Yearly Meeting, consisting of Jonathan E. Rhoads, Charles S. Carter, and Alfred C. Garrett.

As an earnest of the keen desire of the Friends everywhere to bring about universal peace, the Yearly Meeting of the Friends of South-western Ohio, held at Wilmington, in August, adopted and sent to the Ohio Senators the following resolution:

> The Friends' Yearly Meeting, assembled in Wilmington, Ohio, representing 6000 people, earnestly beseech you to throw the whole weight of your influence in favour of the treaties with England and France, without modification. We feel that failure to ratify these treaties will be a shame to the nation.

In his paper on "William Penn's Holy Experiment in Civil Government," Dr. Benjamin F. Trueblood, the secretary of the American Peace Society, furnishes a striking picture of the founder of Pennsylvania. The address was delivered in Philadelphia, in 1894, at the time of the placing of the statue of William Penn on the tower of the Public Buildings. As a human document, replete with historic data, Dr. Trueblood's character sketch of the Quaker who founded a community in a manner seldom repeated since, has been recognised as a masterful portrayal. As the sons of Pennsylvania look back over the period when the founder worked for those who were to come after, they realise more and more the duty of the present day to build on that Quaker founda-

tion. Says Dr. Trueblood of this earliest among peace advocates in the western hemisphere:

He was true to his promise that the colony should be free and self-governing. No man of any nation or of any religious creed was allowed to be persecuted for his faith or for his lack of one. He kept his purpose that no soldier or emblem of war should, by his authority, be seen in the Commonwealth. Even his police, when there were any, he did not arm. He set up courts of law in the counties, but to prevent suits he also established in each of them boards of arbitration. He bought the Indians' lands, made his famous treaty with them, and, without exception, treated them as brothers and friends, and his single power over them was literally greater than that of all the soldiers that ever crossed the Atlantic. It is certainly something akin to the highest kind of success, that for thirty-six years as Proprietary, Governor, and Statesman, the ideal of Christian leadership which he had set for himself he maintained without spot or wrinkle, in the face of so much that was harassing and discouraging.

Penn's Indian policy, which was only the more conspicuous part of his general peace policy, was marked by the greatest of all his successes. The treaty of Shackamaxon, called "the fairest page in American history," "the only treaty never sworn to, and never broken," differed from the treaty made by Carver, and from all other treaties with which the attempt has been made to compare it, not only in being altogether a peace treaty, but in being, in reality, not a treaty with one sachem or tribe only, but with the whole Indian race at that time and for all time.

If by the touch of a magician's wand, as it were, the statue on top of the Philadelphia City Hall could be turned to life; if William Penn could, from his lofty vantage point, survey the great domain to which he

gave his name and observe the trade and industry of the commonwealth whose peace history is the most conspicuous within the nation; if the Quaker statesman could look into the hearts of many of the sons and daughters of Pennsylvania and see within them that stirring which is now leading to an appreciation of universal peace among the nations; if the arbitration organisations of the State succeed in bringing their influence to bear, then might the founder of the Keystone State well consider his earthly mission fully accomplished. Looked at from whatever point of view, William Penn rises the most conspicuous figure, even while it remained for New England to furnish those other pioneers who, in their own time and season, worked incessantly for the abolition of war.

The year 1911 contains no more interesting "peace" event than the unveiling on July 13, at Barking, England, of a bronze tablet in memory of William Penn. At the Church of All Hallows, Tower Hill, the scene of the baptism of the great peacemaker, Colonel Robert M. Thompson, President of the Pennsylvania Society of New York, referred to the opportuneness of the time for unveiling this memorial; a time, as he said, when the United States and Great Britain were approaching each other more closely than ever in amity and peace. There was some praise of war, and much unquaker-like pomp marked the event when the tablet was unveiled. At the banquet at the Duke of Sutherland's, Stafford House, it is true, the simple virtues of William Penn were extolled side by side with speeches that pointed the way of militarism. But neither the speech of Vice-Admiral Sir Hedworth Lambton, that "there was too much peace talk and that it was foolish to think that merely talking peace was going to make the Con-

tinental countries fall into line," or Rear-Admiral Chadwick's glorification of force as the best insurer of peace, or Lord Kitchener's well-meant toast to the armies of the United States and Great Britain could in any way change the fact that during his whole life, the man, whom Americans and Englishmen were then honouring, advocated peace as the chief virtue to be striven for.

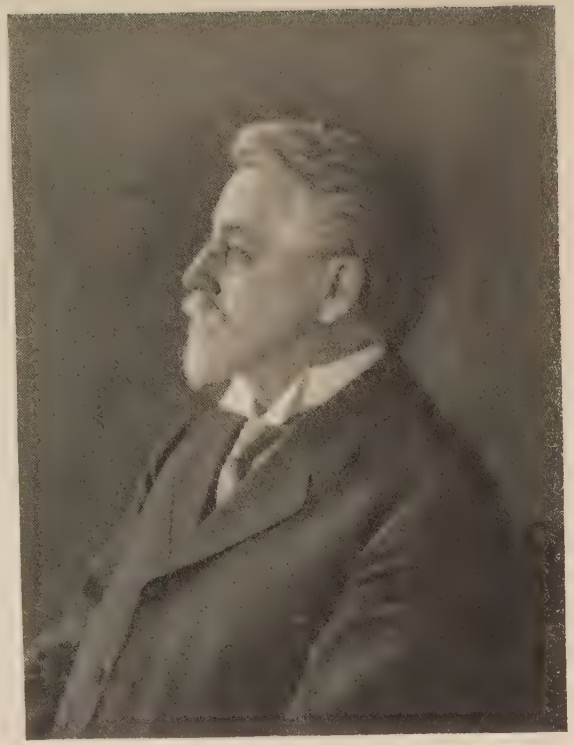
It remained for James M. Beck, of Philadelphia, to bring the banqueters back to the sense of the occasion and to Penn's great dream of pacification; but Mr. Beck qualified his remarks by saying that while the arbitration treaties were measures of security they would be useless unless backed by a pacific disposition to carry out their provisions.

It is the plan of the Pennsylvania Arbitration and Peace Society to establish a number of branch societies. The purpose is to create a fund large enough to facilitate the work of spreading the doctrine throughout the State. The labours of Secretary of State Knox, who as President of the Pennsylvania Arbitration and Peace Conference, of 1908, appointed the executive committee whose final service culminated in the organisation of the State society, are now bearing fruit. Educators, jurists, financiers, business men have enrolled themselves as members. The University of Pennsylvania contains among its faculty men who, like Professor Leo S. Rowe, are giving of their time and talent so that the cause shall be gaining headway in the State. As President of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Professor Rowe has an international reputation. Dr. Schaeffer, another director of the Peace Society, is the State Superintendent of Public Instruction; William T. Creasy is the head of the Pennsylvania State Grange.

Thomas Raeburn White, the president of the society, is a leading attorney of Philadelphia. No more familiar figures appear at the Lake Mohonk conferences than Joshua L. Baily, John B. Garrett, and Charles Richardson. Congressmen Moon and Palmer are ever mindful of the society's interest at the national capital. George W. Guthrie, known as "the reform mayor of Pittsburg," is one of the most active workers of the organisation. Among the women workers may be mentioned Mrs. Edward W. Biddle, President of the Federation of Pennsylvania Women; Mrs. Edwin C. Grice, President of the Home and School Association, and the Misses Burnham, Blakiston and Stewart, who are members of the Century Club and other organisations, besides being directors in the Pennsylvania Arbitration and Peace Society.

Founded in 1866 by Alfred H. Love, of Philadelphia, The Universal Peace Union may be classed among the pioneer organisations working in behalf of arbitration. With the Pennsylvania Arbitration and Peace Society, and the Friends' Peace Associations, the Universal Peace Union is labouring consistently to have the nations recognise the fact that no lasting prosperity can come to any country without universal peace becomes established. In Pennsylvania the spirit of conciliation is spreading near and far. Baron d'Estournelles' advent did much to make the people realise that each commonwealth can, by itself, formulate such work in the interest of peace as will blend into a complete fabric of national and international amity when leading citizens and statesmen put on the armour of righteousness and earnestly declare war upon war.

In Congress, William W. Griest, member of the House of Representatives, is constantly championing the cause



Dr. William P. Wilson,

Director of the Philadelphia Commercial Museums, A Strong Agency for Fostering Peace with Foreign Countries.

From a photograph.

Prof. William I. Hull,

Swarthmore College, Pa., Secretary Pennsylvania Arbitration and Peace Society.

From a photograph.

of Pennsylvania's peace contingent and arguing on the floor in favour of arbitration. He has contributed materially to the State's effort that it follow in the footsteps of William Penn. The Federal legislators from Pennsylvania are counted upon as carrying out a policy that will make for international harmony.

There is to be celebrated in 1913 an event which in every particular can be designated as a peace happening of the first magnitude, although it has to do with national affairs, rather than international. The fiftieth anniversary of the battle of Gettysburg takes place in July of next year. There is to be a great reunion of the Blue and Grey on the historic battle-ground of Pennsylvania. Invitations have been extended for the participants in that battle throughout the Union to meet where the national sentiment of renewed strength is to be pledged. It will be an occasion for the United States to display to the world how the war of the Sixties has resulted in a firmer handclasp than existed before the Civil War. On July the Fourth, there is to be unveiled a monument standing as a living witness to this reunited nation. Other nations may celebrate victories as evidence of superior strength against the foeman's sword; but on the battle-field of Gettysburg, the country will prove that the fiftieth anniversary of that civil struggle is one phase of the present-day peace movement that cannot be passed by where it is the task to show what America is doing for the preservation of harmony, without the nation as well as within.

CHAPTER XVII

KNICKERBOCKER HOSPITALITY A FACTOR

New York Peace Society as an Entertainer of Distinguished Foreigners —Baron d'Estournelles, Count Apponyi, and Admiral Togo as Guests—International Peace and the Banquet Board—The Hungarian Statesman Warns Americans that Europe is Watching the Workings of Democratic Government—Heihachiro Togo, "Peaceful Son of the Eastern Country"—Decries Talks about War with his Country and Extends the Hand of Brotherhood—First Peace Society in the World Formed in Manhattan—Professor Dutton Forecasts a Temple of Peace for New York.

WHEN the New York Peace Society established its board of international hospitality the move was prompted because of the fact that more and more distinguished foreigners, many of them high government officials from abroad, now visit the United States. The purpose is to bring the representatives of the nations together and by suitable entertainment make them realise how much America wishes to smooth the path for internationalism.

Among those who have tasted of the New York Peace Society's hospitality, during the last year or so, are Count Albert Apponyi, Admiral Togo, and Baron d'Estournelles. It was a foregone conclusion that when the French statesman came to New York on his tour of the country he would become the guest of the society whose president, Andrew Carnegie, is his close friend.

Mr Carnegie was the toast-master on the evening when Baron d'Estournelles was the guest of the society at the Hotel Astor. Coincidentally enough, as Mr. Carnegie arose to speak he was handed a message which informed him that on that very day France had been asked by the Washington administration to become a participant in an arbitration treaty similar to that then being negotiated with Great Britain. After Mr. Carnegie had told the news to the diners he introduced Baron d'Estournelles, who said:

Perhaps it is nothing new to you, this board of foreign hospitality. But when I get back to France I must tell them to hasten and fall in line. This is my thanksgiving day. After this long campaign through this country I am happy to be here this evening to express my gratitude to the many friends who helped me. I congratulate you on this application of your board of international hospitality. It has been born from the development and progress of cordial relations among nations.

I have visited most of your states. I found all these states, all these cities, all these people quite different from each other; I found the greatest diversity among them all and still a complete unity. I found different climates, different products, different populations, but one same feeling, one same devotion to the future of your country in peace and through peace. President Taft has behind him in his work for arbitration the entire nation.

I shall not easily forget what the American Association for International Conciliation is accomplishing. It has been the initiator, the patient, admirable organiser of the campaign during which I have spoken to thousands upon thousands of people who knew nothing, or very little, about the new policy of peace.

We all want to abolish war and to substitute arbitration for violence; but it is not enough for us to settle international

quarrels when they arise; we have to prevent them, if possible, by conciliation. Nobody can refuse to join us in this work of conciliation when they know what it means. It is a work of constant, patient, national education in each country; it is the complementary work of all national programmes, the crowning achievement of economic science, the essential and practical need of commerce, agriculture, industry. In this new national education we want the support of the various elements within the nation's activity. This national duty, I am glad to find, is understood everywhere in the United States.

In my native France we distribute our monthly publications among the readers we think especially interested. These readers, it is true, are also leaders within the nation. But how many are there of them? Not a thousand. Here the American Conciliation organisation, the daughter of the French society, numbers 57,000 devoted subscribers. This means more than several hundred thousands of readers.

All this, I must say, is due to the energy of my friend, President Nicholas Murray Butler, whose name is respected by all Americans interested in education and devoted to patriotism. Conciliation is the friendly ground where meet all men and women; women, indeed, as well as men, chiefly in the United States where the civic and public activity of the women is so pronounced and powerful.

As for our good and faithful friend, Andrew Carnegie [concluded Baron d'Estournelles], I can tell him that the mention of his services has been received with warm applause wherever I have spoken, not only because he gave his money, but because of the example he set. I always insist that while money is most necessary for the preparation of peace as well as preparation of war, money is not enough, money is not all. Initiative is still more than money. When the population of this great country, when men of business see other men of business departing from the customs of tradition and entering new avenues of activities, their examples become striking signals for the

world. It will be a great thing when we can say of Mr. Carnegie that he not only fought to stop war but actually stopped war by his example.

President Butler told about the services that Baron d'Estournelles has rendered the peace cause. He said that he had spoken on his favourite subject before Czar Nicholas and the Duma, Emperor William and the Reichstag, before the rulers of the world and their Parliaments.

The new relations between nations have n't happened by chance [said the President of Columbia University]. The interdependence of nations caused by education, travel, commerce and finance has been instrumental, but more has been done by persistent, persuasive, intelligent work. And no man has been more active in or out of season than our guest. He has been heard in Russia, Germany, Great Britain, Scandinavia, the United States. And now South America and Japan are asking for him.

No less interesting than the banquet tendered Baron d'Estournelles was the similar affair in honour of Count Apponyi, some months before. President Butler was then the toast-master. Arbitration talk had not yet reached the proportions it assumed later when his French colleague in the field had travelled through the country on his international mission. But the interest was sufficiently great to draw some of the most noted people of New York and elsewhere to the banquet hall. Archbishop Farley was there and so was former Governor Baldwin of Connecticut. Much interest centred around Baron Hengelmueller, the Austro-Hungarian ambassador at Washington, who spoke on Count Apponyi's mission to the United States. Considering that the Count has often been in opposition

to the government's policy in his home country, and that he is in many ways a radical, it speaks well for his high standing among his people that the Emperor's representative in the United States was a speaker on the evening when Count Apponyi was the guest of the New York Peace Society.

Ambassador Hengelmueller said that the Count came to America for two reasons: to give the American public an account of the present condition and future outlook for the international movement that spells peace, and of which he is so indefatigable a worker, and he came also to help knitting closer the ties that exist between the United States and Austria-Hungary. Perhaps less optimistic than Baron d'Estournelles, the countryman of Kossuth anticipates world peace as a result of the present agitation. In his address at the New York dinner he spoke feelingly of the close ties that bind the old world to the new. He said:

> You are closely watched from the other side of the ocean, you Americans. There may be those in Europe who watch the gigantic experiment of a purely democratic form of government of the people and for the people with a selfish hope that in the end it will fail. There are those in Europe who are looking closely into any deficiency, any shortcoming in the working of your government. But on the other hand, there are those among us—I say us, for I am speaking the mind of my whole country and others in Europe—who watch with as keen an interest, but at the same time with an intense desire to see justified your belief in liberty and popular government. Those other watchers are unable to see the great and towering phenomena in the making of your country.

Count Apponyi said that Americans had the advantage of taking what is best in the traditions brought

from Europe and rejecting what is worst. Americans, he said, had never been revolutionists but evolutionists; always bold in advance, audacious in progress. The peace movement he considered a fight for perfection in internationalism.

If Count Apponyi had been present in New York when the Japanese hero was being fêted by both the nation and the New York Peace Society, he would have come to the conclusion that in so far as Washington and Tokio are concerned the peace of the world had nothing to fear. Diplomacy seldom hit upon a happier idea than when the authorities of the national capital decided to ask Admiral Togo to become the nation's guest, following his mission to London as the Mikado's special ambassador during the coronation.

It was a great feat in naval strategy which Admiral Togo performed at Tsushima; as the history of modern ironclad navies goes, the victory of the Japanese is indisputable. But when, as the guest of the New York Peace Society and the Japan Society of New York, Admiral Togo, at the luncheon in his honour, declared that his name, Heihachiro Togo, meant "peaceful son of the Eastern country," he scored another victory, no less important than when he succeeded in maintaining the dignity of his country. It is very certain that without the sanction of the Emperor himself, Admiral Togo would never have declared at the peace banquet in New York that by name and inclination he was a peaceful man from the east.

It gives me great pleasure [said the admiral, through his interpreter, Commander Taniguchi], to learn that this function has been given by the Japan Society in conjunction with the Peace Society. I cannot conceive of a happier

combination, since the relations between Japan and the United States must ever be one of peace and neighbourly good-will. In this belief I take advantage of the occasion to declare myself among the foremost advocates in favour of maintenance of that relationship in order that our two countries, which have so long lived in harmony and cordial friendship, may continue to do so for ever.

I wish prosperity to the two societies, success to their benevolent work, welfare to you and to the sentiment originally expressed by one of the great Western sages, which should be revised thus—I would say: "Peace hath its victories more renowned than those of war."

At the conclusion of his short speech, Admiral Togo, in English, offered the toast: "To the President of the United States."

Andrew Carnegie, then in Scotland, sent a cablegram which read: "Cordial greetings to Togo, great warrior and now great peacemaker. May success crown his noble efforts to bind Japan's best friend, our beloved country, and his in the bonds of everlasting peace."

At the dinner at the Hotel Knickerbocker, when Admiral Togo was the special guest of honour of the United States government, which had placed the entertainment arrangements in the hands of Chandler Hale, of the State department, there was probably less occasion for the expression of such sentiments as go hand in hand with the peace propaganda. At the same time, from start to finish the banquet bore testimony to a desire for fostering closer relations between the two powers separated from each other by the Pacific Ocean. The hospitality board of the New York Peace Society itself could not have done better than did the government. When Admiral Togo sailed for Japan he was able to repeat the words he spoke when he left for the

United States, July 29th,—that he felt grateful to the United States for inviting him to become its guest, "particularly," as he said "because there are no better friends than the United States and Japan. I can see not the slightest reason for the friendship being broken."

The successful operation of the hospitality board of the New York Peace Society is self-evident. In the case of Baron d'Estournelles, Count Apponyi, and Admiral Togo it was not merely three distinguished men but three powerful nations that were honoured by the peace organisation which considers the banquet board a factor in international conciliation. What France, Austria-Hungary, and Japan have experienced will be for other nations and their representatives.

The first peace society in the world was formed in New York City, in 1815, but the present organisation should not be confounded with the earlier society which eventually merged into the American Peace Society. It was a resident of New York, however, David Low Dodge, who, in 1809, issued the first publication exclusively in the interest of peace. For two or three generations the peace propaganda was largely confined to New England, to Boston, for after having its headquarters for seven years in New York, the American Peace Society removed to Hartford, Conn., and shortly afterwards to the capital city of New England, where it remained to this year when headquarters were established in Washington. With the greater interest in the movement, which began some few years ago, it was considered essential to have a society in the metropolis, and the most influential citizens, educators, bankers, manufacturers, business and professional men, are included in the membership list of the New York Peace Society.

The annual meeting of the New York Peace Society, held on January 25, 1912, was one of the most important gatherings in the history of this organisation. In the absence of Andrew Carnegie, the president of the society, Dr. Henry M. MacCracken, Chancellor Emeritus of the New York University, and a vice-president of the New York Peace Society, presided over the meeting which was attended by more than one hundred active members. Addresses were made and Dr. Samuel T. Dutton, the secretary of the society, attracted attention by intimating that in the not far distant future the metropolis might have a peace palace on the line of the great structure just completed at The Hague for the service of the nations.

Professor Dutton had been speaking about the lack of knowledge among the public relative to the purpose of the peace organisations. He referred to the lessons of 1911, with wars in several parts of the world, the unrest made manifest, and the attending disorganisation of business, and said:

> Should we not have in New York, on this island of promise, an international centre, a noble building dedicated to human brotherhood, where societies of all nationalities—than which no other city has so many—may have suitable headquarters, and where by combination and co-operation we may show in epitome how all nations may at length join in peace and justice for the benefit of mankind? Here is a grand opportunity. Through the beneficence of our president, who is and always has been Mr. Carnegie, such international buildings have been erected at three strategic points. It only requires a fourth in New York to give efficacy to the great educational work which I believe we must undertake.

Professor Dutton asked the members to join him in

the hope that such an ideal as a great structure for peace would be realised. He showed how the masses everywhere, as made manifest particularly in Berlin where 100,000 assembled workmen entered their protest against war, were being prepared to embrace the idea of internationalism.

Among the other speakers at the meeting, Professor George W. Kirchway, Dean of the Columbia Law School, and chairman of the New York Peace Society's committee on the Union of Peace Societies in America, reported a plan whereby more unity might be made effective. He traced the steps by which it is planned to bring all the societies into co-operation with the American Peace Society in Washington.

The report of the executive secretary of the society, William H. Short, referred to the Carnegie Hall incident, and he said it is the deliberate judgment of those who have been in close touch with the movement for ratification, "that no harm resulted from the disturbance, but that the advertisement given by it, to this and other mass meetings that were being arranged throughout the country and the consequent uncovering of the nature and insignificance of the opposition, was rather beneficial than otherwise."

Mr. Short added that the New York Peace Society, in pursuance of its propaganda in favour of the arbitration treaties with Great Britain and France, sent out letters, circulars, and texts of the treaties to 120,000 religious leaders of all denominations in this country.

The election of officers was as follows:

President, Andrew Carnegie; vice-presidents, Lyman Abbott, Felix Adler, William S. Bennett, Nicholas Murray Butler, Joseph B. Choate, R. Fulton Cutting, Cardinal John M. Farley, John H. Finley, David H.

Greer, Charles E. Hughes, John Henry Jowett, Henry M. MacCracken, John Bassett Moore, Robert C. Ogden, Alton B. Parker, George Foster Peabody, Horace Porter, Elihu Root, Jacob H. Schiff, Isaac N. Seligman, Albert Shaw, Albert K. Smiley, James Speyer, Melville E. Stone, Oscar S. Straus, Andrew D. White; secretary, Samuel T. Dutton; executive secretary, William H. Short; treasurer, Clark Williams; directors, for one year to fill vacancy, Clark Williams; for three years, Frederic R. Coudert, Samuel T. Dutton, Robert Erskine Ely, Henry M. Leipziger, Marcus M. Marks, George A. Plimpton, George Haven Putnam, Dr. Louis Seaman, T. Kennard Thomson and John A. Stewart.

The immediate inspiration for the organisation of the New York Peace Society was found in the Lake Mohonk conferences on arbitration. In January, 1906, a meeting was called by Professor Ernst Richard, of Columbia University. This meeting took place in the Broadway Tabernacle Church. The following month organisation was effected with Oscar S. Straus as president. When Mr. Straus went to Washington to become a cabinet member Mr. Carnegie took his place as president. Since its foundation the New York Peace Society has been one of the most active agencies for the ushering in of world peace.

A recently established auxilliary of the society is the World-Federation League. One purpose of the League is to work for the establishment of an arbitral court of justice.

William Jennings Bryan, Count Albert Apponyi, Hungary, Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, France.

CHAPTER XVIII

FIRST CONCILIATION, THEN ARBITRATION

American Association for International Conciliation Prepared to Advance World-Peace along Specific Lines—Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler as President of the Organisation—The Parent Society in Paris of Which Baron d'Estournelles is both Founder and President —Munificence of M. Albert Kahn—The Kahn Foundation that Gives Teachers Opportunity to Travel—Financial Writers who Define the Connection between Business and International Harmony—Sereno S. Pratt, Secretary of New York Chamber of Commerce, Frederick Lynch's "Peace Problem."

UNDER the presidency of Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University, the American Association for International Conciliation has assumed a world-importance. Dr. Butler's activity in the domain of education, political science, arts and letters, has been so pronounced that both in Europe and in his home country he is recognised as the leading authority on questions dealing with internationalism. As an offspring of the French Conciliation Internationale, of which Baron d'Estournelles is both founder and president, the American organisation is in close touch with the parent body. The inspiration for bringing the French arbitration expert to the United States came from those in charge of the association in America.

The monthly bulletin, *International Conciliation*, published by the association, has proved an effective weapon in the hands of the New York advocates for peace.

Beginning with the first number, published in April, 1907, the bulletins have been an educative means through which the public has been enlightened and has obtained information of the most authentic kind. Baron d'Estournelles furnished the initial article, "Programme of the Association." Since then there have been many contributions, as varied as the activities that centre in the one important question, world-peace. More than half a hundred bulletins now stand to the credit of the American Association for International Conciliation. One of the most recent, "Letter to the Apostolic Delegate to the United States of America, by His Holiness Pope Pius X," has been published in both the original Latin text and in English. As bearing upon the peace movement, the letter from the Vatican is of great significance. It reads:

We are happy to learn that in the United States of America, under the leadership of men enjoying the highest authority with the people, the more judicious members of the community are fervently desirous of maintaining the advantages of international peace. To compose differences, to restrain the outbreak of hostilities, to prevent the dangers of war, to remove even the anxieties of so-called armed peace, is, indeed, most praiseworthy, and any effort in this cause, even although it may not immediately or wholly accomplish its purpose, manifests, nevertheless, a zeal which cannot but redound to the credit of its authors and be of benefit to the state. This is especially true at the present day when vast armies, instrumentalities most destructive to human life, and the advanced state of military science portend wars which must be a source of fear even to the most powerful rulers. Wherefore We most heartily commend the work already begun which should be approved by all good men and especially by us holding, as We do, the Supreme Pontificate of the Church, and representing Him

who is both the God and the Prince of Peace; and We most gladly lend the weight of Our authority to those who are striving to realise this most beneficent purpose.

For We do not doubt that the same distinguished men who possess so much ability and such wisdom in affairs of state will construct in behalf of a struggling age a royal road for the nations, leading to peace and conciliation in accordance with the laws of justice and charity, which should be sacredly observed by all. For, inasmuch as peace consists in order, who will vainly think that it can be established unless he strives with all the force within that due respect be everywhere given to those virtues which are the principles of order and its firmest foundations?

As for the remaining aspect of the matter, We recall to mind the examples of so many of Our illustrious Predecessors who, when the condition of the times permitted, rendered, in this very matter also, the most signal service to the cause of humanity and the stability of governments; but since the present age allows Us to aid in this cause only by pious prayers to God, We, therefore, most earnestly pray God, who knows the hearts of men, and inclines them as He wills, that He may be gracious to those who are furthering peace amongst the peoples and may grant to the nations which with united purpose are labouring to this end that the destruction of war and its disasters being averted, they may at length find repose in the beauty of peace.

When the Paris headquarters of the Association for International Conciliation established a bureau of translation for the rendering into foreign tongues of the pamphlets issued in America, a very great step ahead was made. During his recent tour Baron d'Estournelles met many prominent Americans who have contributed to the literature on the peace movement by way of the association bulletins. There is hardly a doubt that where the French statesman came to

America principally for the purpose of enlightening the American public, he took back with him to his native France a lasting impression of how the new conscience in the Western world has awakened many to the realisation that arbitration is the question of the hour.

Under the supervision of Dean Frederick P. Keppel of Columbia University, the American Association for International Conciliation is a splendid publicity bureau for the spreading of information relative to the peace cause. Secretary Keppel, in his quarterly reports to the board of directors, shows that interest in the literature is increasing. The faculty of the university has allied itself with the movement, and with President Butler, also the president of the association, leading professors of Columbia have made many literary contributions to the monthly bulletins.

According to Secretary Keppel, applications for the bulletins come from many parts of the world. Among those who have recently asked to be placed on the mailing list are Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, Norway; Professor Josef Kohler of Berlin, James Ford Rhodes, the Interstate Commerce Commission, many members of the Diplomatic and Consular service, members of the Philippine Assembly, etc.

The executive committee of the American Association for International Conciliation is composed of the following: Nicholas Murray Butler, Richard Bartholdt, Dr. Lyman Abbott, James Speyer, Seth Low, Stephen Henry Olin, Robert A. Franks, George Blumenthal, Paul Morton. There is close co-operation with the Paris bureau of the organisation. The officers of the Conciliation Internationale are as follows: President and founder, Baron d'Estournelles; honorary presidents, Senators Berthelot and Leon Bourgeois; general

secretaries, A. Metin and Jules Rais; treasurer, Albert Kahn. When in Paris during the summer of 1911, Dr. Butler was entertained at dinner at the Hotel du Palais d'Orsay by Baron d'Estournelles and Senator Gaston Menier. International arbitration was the chief topic of discussion. Among those at the dinner was Norman Angell whose book on the illusion of war continues to be a leading argument for peace.

Having been the treasurer of the Conciliation Internationale since its foundation, M. Albert Kahn, who is a well-known Paris banker and art collector, by the establishment of the Kahn Foundation for the Foreign Travel of American Teachers has added a valuable link to the international chain which spells world-friendship. Just as the motto of the Conciliation Internationale represents a truly human and humane philosophy of politics and of life with its "Pro Patria per Orbis Concordiam," so M. Kahn's "Bourses de Voyage," as the Kahn foundation is called, will be the means of drawing humankind closer. The first two American educators to have the advantage of the French banker's munificence are Professor John H. T. McPherson, of the University of Georgia, and Professor Francis Daniels, of Wabash College, Indiana. The 1912 beneficiaries are Professor William Erskine Kellicott, professor of biology in Goucher College, Baltimore, Md., and Professor Ivan Mortimer Linforth, professor of Greek in the University of California. M. Kahn had previously established funds of this nature in France, Germany, Japan, and England. In the United States the trustees are Edward D. Adams, Dr. Butler, Henry Fairfield Osborn, Dr. Charles W. Eliot, and Charles D. Walcot. With universities and colleges everywhere so closely identified with the peace movement, it stands to reason

that when members of faculties are afforded new opportunity to travel, international relationship becomes strengthened through contact.

The American Association for International Conciliation was a firm supporter of the arbitration treaties signed with England and France, and this was made evident from the fact that thousands of postal cards were mailed urging the friends of the association to request their respective Senators to ratify the treaties. In this the association is assisted by the commercial organisations of New York, chiefly the Chamber of Commerce. The business interests of New York are as one in their desire to see international arbitration firmly established. The thorough co-operation between the men of finance and commerce and the conciliation body is made apparent from the fact that among leading articles published in the bulletins are such subjects as "Shipping," by E. H. Outerbridge; "International Investment," by Thomas F. Woodlock, and "Commercial Organisation," by Sereno S. Pratt, the latter Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce of New York. It is hardly necessary to say that these articles are written with a view toward showing the relation of shipping, investment, and commerce to war and peace.

Mr. Woodlock has for years been conspicuous as a financial writer. In January of the present year he wrote on, "International Investments and International Unity," as follows:

It is a matter of common knowledge that the world's "international investments" are very large. The result is that the civilised world is enclosed in a network of relationships arising from these investments. Capital has been rendered practically as mobile a fluid as electricity itself,

and in the main its movements have been determined by the "prevailing rates of wages" obtainable.

The first thing that becomes apparent is the fact that between the great powers themselves there has been comparatively little interchange of capital and opportunity. The second thing is that in the newer countries of well-established autonomy capital has come from everywhere and anywhere. Take our own case for example: We pay interest and dividends to investors in all the European nations, especially to England, Germany, and Holland. The same thing is true of Mexico and the South American nations. The English and the Germans are partners in our development, the Frenchman and the Englishman are partners in African gold and diamond mines and Spanish copper mines, all three are partners in Brazil and in Argentina, and the Dutchman is partner with all. English, Dutch, and German traders meet wherever ships can go and a path can be forced.

The third thing is that in certain parts of the world—densely populated, but little developed, and while possessing undoubted autonomy, yet remote from the councils of the rest—capital is making entry only under conditions reflecting the most extreme jealousy on the part of its owners, each against the other, this jealousy making necessarily the most formal kind of partnership imaginable between the interested creditors. The last Chinese loan is a good example of this. The reason, of course, is plain. It is a matter of the "open door." It is not too much to say that the "open door" in China is in the modern political arena of more importance to the peace of the world than is the "closed door" of the Dardanelles.

In the past forty years, the welding together of the money markets of the world into one great reservoir, so to speak, of capital and credit has progressed far enough to warrant us in regarding it as a new and permanent development in commercial civilisation. The financial interdependence of nations has been demonstrated most strikingly in the series

of financial storms that have swept the world in the last generation—more strikingly in each case than in that which preceded it. War has always been a matter of money, for money has always been able to convert itself into men and munitions. More than ever is this the case to-day. Never has war been so much a matter of money and never has the utter waste of money in such things as men and munitions been more clearly recognised and vehemently disliked by capital than it is in the modern world. No country—no great country—can again isolate itself financially from the others; there is a sense in which no country can financially stand entirely alone. Can we not see in these considerations a hope that the appeal of peace to the self-interest of a most highly organised and enlightened body of capital will come with ever-increasing force as time goes on, and that this appeal will be strong enough to outweigh all but the most immediate and evident advantages presented to an individual nation by the making of war upon another nation?

Sereno S. Pratt, as Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce of New York, has furnished some interesting facts relative to the participation of the Chamber in arbitration labours.

At its second meeting, held May 3, 1768 [writes Mr. Pratt of the Chamber's activity], it appointed a committee to adjust disputes between members, an early application of arbitration for the settlement of mercantile differences and the forerunner of arbitration for the peaceful settlement of international differences. From that day to this the New York Chamber has been a consistent and persistent advocate of arbitration as a substitute for litigation and war.

At the International Congress of Chambers of Commerce held in London in June, 1910, the delegates from the United States introduced a resolution recommending to all nations the establishment of a "Permanent International

Court of Arbitral Justice, of free and easy access, composed of judges representing the various juridical systems of the world and capable of insuring continuity of jurisprudence of arbitration." It is altogether probable that this resolution, or one substantially the same, will be adopted by the International Congress at its next meeting, which will be held in Boston in 1912.

Mr. Pratt shows how the Chamber of Commerce of New York in 1879 sent Samuel B. Ruggles as a delegate to the International Conference in London of the Association for the Reform and Codification of the Law of Nations; how in 1887 resolutions were adopted by the Chamber that "it is time to bring about international arbitration between the two great English-speaking nations that all disputes should be amicably settled." In 1895 the Chamber's Committee on Foreign Commerce and the Revenue Laws submitted a report stating that from 1816 to 1895 there had been about one important case of arbitration between nations each year. "Only four or five of these are known to most people," said the report, "for one war makes more noise than a hundred arbitrations and costs more than a thousand."

When the Venezuelan dispute arose, says Mr. Pratt, the Chamber of Commerce, at a meeting held January 2, 1896, proposed that the dispute be referred in the interests of peace to a commission of inquiry. It was at this meeting that Carl Schurz delivered a powerful speech for peace, describing the horrors of war and laying down this broad principle for the conduct of nations:

No war is justifiable unless its cause or object stands in just proportion to its cost in blood, in destruction, in human

misery, in waste, in political corruption, in social demoralisation, in relapse of civilisation; and even then it is justifiable only when every expedient of statesmanship to avert it has been thoroughly exhausted.

The wide scope of the international interests and action of leading commercial organisations can be indefinitely illustrated by the records of the New York Chamber [writes Mr. Pratt further]. Great must be the effect upon international unity of the action of an organisation which during the past one hundred and forty years has by formal vote legislated in regard to England, France, Germany, Italy, Spain, Greece, Africa, South America, India, Russia, China, Japan, Korea, Mexico, Newfoundland, Canada, Brazil, Venezuela, Argentina, Colombia, and Panama; which from 1854 to 1909 gave aid and encouragement to Arctic exploration; which has had close reciprocal relations with the Chambers of Commerce of London, Paris, Belfast, Birmingham, Liverpool, Manchester, Bengal, Shanghai, and of South America and Japan; which from 1784 has sought to promote good-will and commerce with China; which has given its support to international expositions in Paris, Rio de Janeiro and other foreign cities, and which, recognising that a new and better political economy conceives commerce to be not war but reciprocal advantage, has for years striven in favour of reciprocal treaties.

"Commerce," said William M. Evarts, in 1873, "is the promoter of peace"; and it may be added that no other agency in the world to-day is working with such power for the establishment of permanent peace and closer international relations as the Chambers of Commerce.

Both Mr. Woodlock and Mr. Pratt are former editors of *The Wall Street Journal*, New York. Their points of view are considered authentic. None more so than those identified with financial journalism realise the tremendous importance of peace in the international world. In the case of Secretary Pratt, his trenchant

pen has never been employed to better advantage than when he wrote in the monthly bulletin relative to arbitration and business. Regarding Andrew Carnegie's election as honorary president of the Chamber, Mr. Pratt wrote in the November issue as follows:

The election of Andrew Carnegie as honorary member of the Chamber increases the number on the Chamber's roll of honour to eleven. The two preceding additions were Robert E. Perry and Theodore Roosevelt. Mr. Carnegie has been a resident member since 1887, and from 1900 to 1904 he served as vice-president. His election as honorary member, while a recognition in general of his extraordinary philanthropies, is especially a tribute to his services in behalf of international peace, services which have been crowned by his recent splendid gift of $10,000,000 to that cause.

His election as honorary member was first recommended by the Chamber's delegate, William Lummis, chairman, to the last convention in Washington of the American Society for Judicial Settlement of International Disputes. It was formally proposed to the Chamber by the Executive Committee, and Mr. Carnegie's election was effected by an unanimous standing vote.

When the New York Chamber of Commerce learned that treaties with Great Britain and France were being negotiated, and later when the nations concerned signed the unlimited arbitration pacts, the great commercial body of the metropolis at once set to work to bring every industrial and trade agency in the country into harmony with the international movement. The Chamber, early in the spring, had adopted resolutions which had been forwarded to President Taft, favouring the exact line of action of the government in regard to unlimited arbitration treaties with the nations of the

world. At the same time communications were addressed to the British and French ambassadors. The London Chamber of Commerce and the American Chamber of Commerce in Paris were likewise informed of the position of the New York organisation, and from the moment negotiations began until the signing of the treaties there has been the most complete understanding between the business associations in the three countries concerned.

Recently the New York Chamber of Commerce paid a tribute to two of the most valued members, the late Morris K. Jesup, and Alexander E. Orr who is still active in the affairs of the Chamber, for their devotion to the organisation, by the unveiling of a bronze tablet. The inscription on the tablet explains itself and the reason for its existence as follows:

This building was notably promoted by Presidents Orr and Jesup. Its erection was made possible by the liberality of its members. The dedication address was made November 11, 1902, by Grover Cleveland in the presence of President Roosevelt and a distinguished company. The trustees of the real estate in charge of the construction were Morris K. Jesup, Alexander E. Orr, Samuel D. Bancock, John Crosby Brown, Cornelius N. Bliss, John S. Kennedy, Charles Stewart Smith. The architect was James B. Baker and the builder Charles T. Wills. The New York Chamber of Commerce stands for the triumphs of peace at home and abroad.

It is the last sentence on the tablet which established beyond contradiction that the Chamber is dedicated to international peace. It is for this reason that the members are in most instances affiliated with arbitration organisations in New York.

Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler,

President Columbia University, President American Association for International Conciliation.

Photo by Alman & Co., N. Y.

Sereno S. Pratt,

Secretary Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York.

Photo by Gross Studio.

Coming back to the work of the American Association for International Conciliation, it is probable that one of its chief functions in the future will be the selection of prominent men, whether in America or abroad, to visit foreign lands in the interest of the movement. Baron d'Estournelles' tour of America was engineered by the New York organisation. There is no record to what extent peace societies are concerned in the exchange professors that have either come to American universities to lecture or gone abroad for the identical purpose. But that this newest internationalism—the bringing of foreign educators to the United States for specific periods—is working in favour of international arbitration is conclusive. In his book "The Peace Problem," Rev. Frederick Lynch takes occasion to dwell at length on this phase of world education as a distinct feature of the conciliation efforts of the age.

The United States [says Mr. Lynch], exchanges regularly now with the universities of Berlin, Paris, and Scandinavia. Such men as Professors Burgess and Felix Adler from Columbia, W. S. Scofield from Harvard, A. T. Hadley from Yale have been to Berlin University lecturing for the whole year. Such men as Professors Barrett Wendell and Bliss Perry of Harvard, and Henry Van Dyke of Princeton, have lectured for a term at the Sorbonne in Paris, and then have visited the universities of the provinces of France. Such men as Presidents MacCracken of New York University, Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia University, and Professor Samuel T. Dutton of Teacher's College have been to the Scandinavian universities at their invitation. At the same time, professors from Germany, France, and the Scandinavian countries are spending terms at the American universities.

This exchange of professors has done much to create

good-will not only in the way of sending the professor home again with a devoted friendship to the land he has visited expressing itself afterwards in such devoted tributes to them as Professor Wendell's *France of To-day*, but the lectures these men give are interpretative of the best there is in their land. What a different conception of America, for instance, must France have after hearing Professor Van Dyke's course on "The Spirit of America," or Denmark after hearing President Butler on "The American as He Is," or Norway and Sweden after hearing Professor Dutton on "Ideals of American Education." It will be much harder for these countries to make war upon each other after these exchanges.

The coming to the United States of Dr. Nitobe as the first exchange professor from Japan is the result of negotiations which Hamilton Holt, of the *Independent*, had been carrying on with the government of Japan. It is easy to understand that as a peace proposition nothing could serve better the interests of the two nations concerned. The lectures delivered by Dr. Nitobe sealed the friendship of the nations with something that only international education can provide. The effect of these lectures by the noted Japanese educator, who as the author of *Bushido* has established himself firmly in the hearts of his countrymen, whether delivered at Leland Stanford, Yale, Columbia, Johns Hopkins, the universities of Virginia, Minnesota, and Illinois, was exactly what Dr. Butler affirmed, "to give each people a better knowledge of the other."

CHAPTER XIX

WHERE WOMAN HAS A GREAT MISSION

Among New York Peace Workers, Mrs. Elmer Black is a Staunch Advocate for International Fellowship—Has Charge of the Propaganda Department of the American Peace and Arbitration League —Work at Home and Abroad—The German-American Peace Society and its Founder—How the Two Nations Have Been Brought Closer—The Assistance Rendered by the German-American Alliance—The Italian-American Peace Society—The Scandinavian-Americans and the Gift of Niels Paulson—The Labours of the International Peace Forum—Dr. John Wesley Hill, President—His Visit to the Orient—Dr. Wu Ting Fang, Formerly Chinese Minister to Washington, Honorary President of the Forum.

AMONG the active peace organisations of New York City, with affiliations elsewhere, can be classed the American Peace and Arbitration League. The league differs somewhat from other organisations that aim at bringing the subject of world-harmony before the public. It is the general understanding that it favours a policy that will assure universal peace without the abandonment of sufficient armament until all nations are ready to enter upon such an agreement. There are many different elements contained within the league. For instance, Henry Clews, the banker, is the president, and he is also a member of other peace organisations which are in favour of more restricted action regarding military equipments. President Taft, Colonel Roosevelt, and Andrew Carnegie are honorary presidents. The secretary is Andrew B. Humphrey.

Perhaps the most important department of the league is that devoted to the extensive propaganda, and this is in charge of Mrs. Elmer Black. Mrs. Black is a public speaker of considerable force and conviction. She appears regularly at the principal congresses and conferences in this country and abroad. She has offered a number of prizes for college students who can prepare the best essays on peace, and in a general way few women in America or Europe have done more for the advancement of the cause.

When President Taft called upon the women of the land to lend their aid in the great work, Mrs. Black conceived the idea of "Unity Sunday," a day for all the churches to urge the ratification of the then pending treaties. Thousands of churches participated in the national observance of Sunday, November 26th. Scores of resolutions were endorsed and forwarded to Senators. In the furtherance of her plan, Mrs. Black issued an attractive brochure entitled "Civilise the Nations."

Sketching the history of the peace movement, Mrs. Black traced the development to the present.

The situation to-day is ripe for a leader [says Mrs. Black]. The talk of the centuries has reached a point where the doer is needed. Both the material and the man are ready to hand, and the eyes of the world are upon the President of the United States and his treaties with Great Britain and France now pending before the United States Senate. . . . To the people of my country I address this appeal. Make your wish in the matter known by resolutions from organisations of which you may be a member; by personal letters to your gubernatorial representatives; by expressions in the daily press; and, finally, by your registration of your will by any demonstration that will convey its sincerity. Your ancestors were as accomplished in the

arts of Peace as they were in the arts of War. Twentieth century intelligence and the higher civilisation demand that we hand down to posterity the need for none but the arts of Peace.

For some years Mrs. Black has been an effective force in world organisation. She was the only woman chosen a vice-president of the Third National Peace Congress at Baltimore. Her entertainments of distinguished foreigners visiting America have been a distinct hospitality which has made itself felt in the international world. During the first Universal Race Congress, held in London during the summer of 1911, Mrs. Black tendered a reception to the delegates at Claridge's Hotel.

As president of the *Editorial Review*, Mrs. Black is concerned in a work which is doing much for international arbitration. The peace number of this magazine, published at Easter time, 1911, is perhaps the first attempt at devoting an entire magazine issue to the cause of world amity.

The first German-born American to organise a peace society in the United States was Dr. Ernst Richard of Columbia University. But Dr. Richard is as active in other metropolitan peace organisations as in the German-American Peace Society, of which he is president. In fact, it was due largely to his initiative that a meeting was called in January, 1906, to consider the establishment of the New York Peace Society. As for the German-American Peace Society, Dr. Richard at the great New York Peace Congress, in an address on "Germany and America," stated its purpose as follows:

There are to-day an increasing number of Germans who know that better ways exist to secure peace than militarism;

who know as well as we do, in spite of all posssible asertions of military statesmen, that soldiers are no instruments of peace.

We who come from monarchical countries are wide-awake to the fact that in countries of monarchical traditions the responsibilities of sovereignty rest on the shoulders of the administration; but in a democracy like ours they rest on the people, they rest on ourselves. If we go to war, we cannot blame our administration, we have to blame ourselves; and if this national congress has any meaning whatever it is to tell our mandatories in Washington that we feel the people of the United States are with us in demanding that our representatives to the Second Hague Conference shall be as they have in the past, the leaders in the reforms of international relations.

I have been introduced to you as President of the German-American Peace Society, but I should like to tell you that "German-American" does not in this instance, even in an ethnological sense, mean a distinction from our fellow-citizens, but a recognition of the fact that we who have descended from German stock are the natural bond of an ever-increasing friendship between Germany and America. When we started, we found the first thing to do in this American city was to have an American Peace Society right amongst us—a purely American Peace Society—and if we have done nothing else we have founded the Peace Society of New York, which fathers this congress, so we may well call ourselves the grandparents of this National Arbitration and Peace Congress. Perhaps it is not accidental that German-Americans should be the first to have entered this field, since Germany and America have progressed arm in arm in the paths of peace since these United States have been recognised as one of the sovereign nations of the world.

Through the efforts of Dr. Richard, the German-American Alliance, which boasts a membership of

2,000,000, has promised to co-operate with the German-American Peace Society in every way possible. This means that the world movement for peace has gained a foothold among some of the best citizens of the land and that their influence will be thrown in the scale with every attempt to bring Germany and the United States into closer relations. This feeling was given full expression when the German-Americans of New York honoured Congressman Bartholdt and C. B. Wolfram, publisher of the *German Herold* and the *New Yorker Zeitung*, with a banquet on their return from Europe, after they had presented Emperor William with the replica of the statue of Baron von Steuben at Washington.

When Dr. Richard told the New York Peace Congress how, previous to the Second Hague Conference, it was considered the duty of all American citizens to impress the administration with the importance of continuing in the van at The Hague, there was no intimation that the next President of the United States would make all appeals of this kind unnecessary where it concerned the Third Hague Conference not far distant. If the tour of President Taft during the summer resulted in nothing more than making the chief executive acquainted with the peace sentiment of the country, that alone should be sufficient reward. German-Americans, Scandinavian-Americans, Italian-Americans, whatever the nationality and whether native or foreign born, the people as with one voice acclaimed the President as the bearer of good tidings.

It is very certain that when President Taft issued his Thanksgiving proclamation he had in mind all of the 90,000,000 people of the republic. To none more so than those born in other lands and who have found new

homes in the United States could the words of the President's proclamation have meant as much as when he said in part as follows:

> We have been free from the curses of pestilence, of famine, and of war. Our national councils have furthered the cause of peace in other lands and the spirit of benevolence has brought us into closer touch with other peoples, to the strengthening of the bonds of fellowship and goodwill, that link us to our comrades in the universal brotherhood of nations. Strong in the sense of our own rights and inspired by as strong a sense of the rights of others, we live in peace and harmony with the world. Rich in the priceless possession and abundant, wherewith the unstinted bounty of God has endowed us, we are unselfishly glad when other peoples pass onward to prosperity and peace.

In so far as it concerned the German-Americans of this country, the President's Thanksgiving proclamation must have been especially welcome to them since the Moroccan situation seemed to have cleared sufficiently to make it evident that the land of their birth did not intend to make war a means of settlement. There can be no doubt at all that the influence of the Germans in America had much to do with the peaceful negotiations between France and Germany. In the case of the Italians in the United States, and in particular the New York Italian Peace Society, the Tripoli affair made its appearance at a time when the New York organisation was striving with all its might to make arbitration the only method for international settlement of disputes. It is not essential to inquire to what extent the Italian-Turkish imbroglio interfered with the peace sentiment among the Italians who have settled in the new world. Still, to judge from what Antonio Zucca, the President of the New York Italian

Peace Society, had to say on Columbus Day in reference to the discoverer of America, it is very apparent that war and military expeditions are not finding any more favour with this society after the mother country took possession of Tripoli than before.

We all know what trouble Columbus had in securing his three caravels [said Mr. Zucca], and had it not been for the kind heart of Queen Isabella, even the small amount required would not have been forthcoming. Still, while Columbus made Spain rich through his discovery, the Spanish nation did not employ the money so gained for the building of more ships for the further development of trade with other countries. No, jealousy took root—warships were built for the destruction of other nations.

And what is happening to-day? While most nations approve of having their differences adjusted by arbitration, the construction of large men-of-war continues. Dreadnoughts that cost millions and millions of dollars are added to the navies of all nations, all competing to boast of the strongest navy. Newspapers approve, people applaud when the ship is launched, not thinking for one moment of the big tax on the people for the building and maintenance of such large armies and navies. Italy alone, in the past year, has built twenty-three large men-of-war, not considering the small destroyers and the torpedo boats. Italy is not a rich country, and she impoverishes her financial condition in this way.

A leading business man of New York City, with foreign connections of considerable magnitude, Mr. Zucca is in a position to know to what extent war and the war spirit interfere with commercial progress. The President of the New York Italian Peace Society, moreover, desires to impress upon his countrymen and others the fallacy of the present movements of govern-

ments. To him, as well as those who with him advocate arbitration of international issues, it must have been a source of gratification that Baron d'Estournelles, soon after war broke out, wrote Premier Caillaux suggesting that France, acting under Article 2 of the Hague Conference, should offer her good offices to end the quarrel between Italy and Turkey. It was just what was expected when the premier replied that the French government was ready to offer mediation in conformity with the rules of The Hague.

The late Niels Paulson of New York, a Dane by birth and patriotic to the fullest degree, before his death gave to the American-Scandinavian Society, founded by Professor Carl Lorentzen of Columbia University, the sum of $100,000 to aid the society in its work. Scandinavia and the United States have always lived in peace. The trust agreement that accompanied Mr. Paulson's gift is a peace-strengthening document of the best kind, for it stated that the object was as follows:

> To cultivate closer relations between the Scandinavian countries—namely, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden—and the United States, and to strengthen the bonds between Scandinavians in this country by the universities and schools of Scandinavia or the United States selecting from their students one or more, and recommending the students to the American-Scandinavian Society to be educated in the United States or Scandinavia, and maintained out of the trust fund, preference being given, however, to technical students.
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> It is further exacted that by means of the exchange of lecturers, scientists, and educators, between the countries concerned, public opinion is to be educated to

Rev. Wesley A. Hunsberger,
Executive Vice-President International Peace Forum.
Photo by Sherman, Camden, N. J.

Dr. John Wesley Hill,
President International Peace Forum.
Photo by Oliver Lippincott, New York.

an understanding of the underlying principles of internationalism. Denmark has been especially in the lead touching arbitration treaties, and it is significant that it is due to the generosity of one of her sons that a new link has been wrought between Scandinavia and the republic of the Western world.

When Baron d'Estournelles reached New York after his strenuous campaign of the States, the French conciliator was able to realise even better than before why the financial, commercial, and educational interests of the great city were aligning themselves unreservedly with the arbitration workers. Only four years intervened between the French statesman's former visit and his visit of 1911. But those four years had worked a transformation relative to a consistent peace policy among many who had been indifferent to the issue. Better than Americans themselves, perhaps, Baron d'Estournelles could figure out the causes that had led to this momentous change. The administration entering upon the arbitration scene naturally provided something that had been absent up to the year 1911. But even the action of President Taft was but the cumulative effect of what had been lying dormant in the public mind and had at last found ground for expression. Like religion at its best, peace is no longer considered idealistic, but decidedly practical. The conscience of America demands that from now on there shall be no halt until all the nations enter the company where the United States is evidently destined to lead.

It is because of its proposed scope that the recently organised International Peace Forum enters the company of New York societies at an auspicious moment. With President Taft as honorary president, the Forum has a directorate and a list of vice-presidents that

bespeaks its importance. The platform of the International Peace Forum includes a number of planks that reveal a comprehensive plan for spreading the new kind of international knowledge. Dr. John Wesley Hill is the president, W. A. Hunsberger, executive vice-president, Lee Keedick, executive secretary, and Henry Clews is treasurer. Many noted foreigners are among the vice-presidents, including Sir Gilbert Parker, Baron D. Kikuchi, of the Imperial University, Japan; Baron Antonio Casolini, Italy, and Sir Robert Baden-Powell.

It is the purpose of the Forum to establish branches throughout the world. But there is another side to the work of this organisation that is bound to command attention. Industrial peace is included as one of the aims of the International Peace Forum in order to infuse "information regarding economic questions, that Peace may be established in the industrial world; the rights of life, liberty, labour, and capital properly safeguarded, and such conditions of industrial and economic competition secured as are fundamental to universal peace," as is the announcement of the organisers.

A better effort to bring about complete harmony between leading Americans and leading Japanese was seldom made than when President Hill, of the International Peace Forum, went to the empire of the Mikado in the interest of the society. Returning from his four months' peace mission, Dr. Hill said that when he first began work in the East progress seemed slow. But after a few weeks of private and public work, he found interest awakening, and while the military spirit is strong in certain quarters, he became aware that Japan as a whole is essentially a peaceful nation.

Speaking of his visit to China, Dr. Hill said:

I had a number of interviews with the leaders of the revolution. I found Dr Wu Ting Fang thoroughly consecrated to the cause of a republican form of government, declaring his purpose to adhere to the republic until its permanent establishment. The leaders of the new movement in China hold the United States in high esteem. They repeatedly told me that our country was their inspiration, and it was their ambition to shape their institution and policy after our government and administration. Dr. Wu Ting Fang accepted the honorary presidency of the International Peace Forum for China and will lead the organisation as soon as conditions become settled in that country.

It needs little imagination to see that the effect of such a peace journey as Dr. Hill's proved to be must be far-reaching. The new China may be counted upon as heartily favouring international peace. As for Japan, Dr. Hill, in private audience with the Mikado, was assured that the Emperor of the island country would bend every effort toward the maintenance of peaceful relations with the republic across the Pacific Ocean. Dr. Hill organised a Japanese branch of the International Peace Forum. Among those who were strongly in favour of such participation were Viscount Kanoko, ex-Minister of Justice; Baron Sakatani, ex-Minister of Finance, and Baron Kanda who was a member of the Japanese commission that visited the United States in 1909. On his return to America, Dr. Hill went to Washington where he was the guest of President Taft to whom he conveyed the Mikado's greetings and well wishes.

The International Peace Forum has been especially active among the churches and the commercial organisations. Informative literature has been distributed throughout the country. The Intercollegiate Branch

has been particularly active. G. Hinman Barrett is the president. Efforts are now making to establish collegiate branches in all the universities and colleges, and it is the aim to secure the services of the heads of these institutions for the advisory boards.

At a mass-meeting held in Metropolitan Temple, New York, many speakers dwelt on the remarkable opportunity before those who had in view closer international relations. The address of Max Pam was especially to the point where this well-known New Yorker said:

> No influence can be more potent in the cause of peace than the church—the denomination is immaterial—so is the creed, or even lack of creed. Spirituality makes for the peace of soul—and encourages feelings of kindliness and considerateness amongst men and amongst women. Business relations between people are not entirely without soul; if they are, then it is well that some influence be exerted to create an element which makes for something more than mere materialism in trade. Therefore, the church is one of the most potent forces in the interest of the cause of peace.

Like the church, the school is one of the most potent forces in the matter of world friendship. Few individuals have wrought with better effect in the juvenile realm and in the classroom than Miss Mary J. Pierson, a teacher in one of the New York schools. Miss Pierson is the secretary of the Young People's International Federation. She knows the child thought and how to make a most telling appeal. Blending pageantry with international amity, a recent event illustrative of Miss Pierson's effective work was the children's peace parade in New York City on the

Fourth of July of this year. Mayor Gaynor and other city officials were on the reviewing-stand in front of the City Hall. The children's participation in that great demonstration of metropolitan activity made a deep impression on the thousands gathered in the square and adjoining streets.

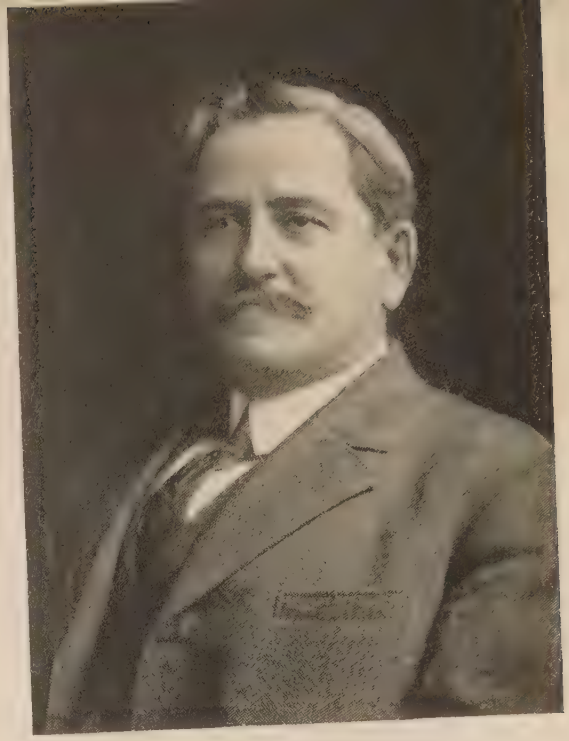
Miss Pierson, as early as 1904, began systematically to interest young people in the peace movement. At the Boston Peace Congress of that year, the New York teacher had arranged a pageant in illustration of the benefits of world harmony. Three years later, during the monster peace celebration in New York, she again brought together the school children on that unforgetable occasion in Carnegie Hall when Baron d'Estournelles declared it was the most impressive scene he had ever witnessed where the purpose was teaching the doctrine of peace.

It is generally agreed that, to a large extent, the present wide scope of the American School Peace League was made possible because of what this New York teacher did in her more limited way. At any rate, the league was a result of co-operative work among teachers and owes its inspiration to the New York Peace Congress. Dr. L. Friedman, of New York, is another resident of that city whose unique methods are helping to a better appreciation of the great cause. Dr. Friedman gives of his time and means to make peace gatherings attractive through decorative effects. He owns a collection of flags and emblems unexcelled for the particular purpose and in the manner of arrangement one replete with international meaning.

For many years Dr. William Osborne McDowell has been an interesting figure among the peace workers of the metropolis. As a one-time lecturer for the New

York Board of Education, he had opportunity for bringing his peace ideas before the young people of the city. Dr. McDowell has been the special envoy of the Interparliamentary Union, and when Congressman Richard Bartholdt went to Europe to invite the foreign parliamentary bodies to come to the United States at the next conference, the president of the League of Peace was intrusted with the task of securing signatures of members of both Houses of Congress.

Mrs. Elmer Black,
Chairman Department of Propaganda of the American Peace and Arbitration League.
Photo by Campbell Studios.



Dr. Charles William Dabney,
President University of Cincinnati.
Photo by J. Benjamin, Cincinnati, O.

CHAPTER XX

A NEW ENGLAND PEACE SYMPOSIUM

How the Boston Economic Club Managed to Make Arbitration Attractive to Its Members—A Frenchman, a Japanese, and an American Discourse upon the World Problem and its Solution—Price Collier as a Critic of Western Non-Appreciation of Oriental Character—Baron d'Estournelles' Estimate of Edward Everett Hale—Count Apponyi at Historic Faneuil Hall—Harvard's Contribution to the Cause of Peace—Edwin D. Mead on the Great Men of the Institution who Paved the Way—The Prophetic Vision of a Boston Preacher—A Monument to His Labours.

IT was to have been expected that since New England has at all times stood foremost in the cause of peace, the forward movement which set in with such earnestness throughout the whole country found Massachusetts especially active in 1911. There had been a renewed interest in arbitration through all of the New England commonwealths, and when Baron d'Estournelles visited Boston, almost at the termination of his stay in the United States, there was considerable curiosity to hear what were the experiences of the French statesman while in America.

It fell to the Economic Club of Boston to entertain Baron d'Estournelles at one of the regular functions for which this civic organisation is noted. The subject singled out for the special occasion was "Unlimited Arbitration of International Disputes." To give colour and variety to the event, Price Collier, the well-known

traveller and author, and Dr. T. Iyenaga, of Japan, were other guests of the Economic Club.

The evening of May 19th will long be remembered by the members of the club and their friends, for where many of those present knew little or nothing about international arbitration, they came from the banquet hall imbued with the spirit that the peace cause is one that concerns every business man in the New England city that has done so much in the past to foster internationalism.

President William H. Lincoln, of the Economic Club, gave the diners a foretaste of what was in store when he said, as toastmaster, that the subject under discussion was the most important before the world to-day. He told his listeners that it was in the power of the world of finance and commerce to put a stop to war and bring about unlimited arbitration.

When Baron d'Estournelles was introduced, he went straight at his subject. The day before, he had been at Worcester, where he took part in the annual celebration in honour of the first Hague Conference. The French delegate to The Hague had been anxious to speak to a Boston audience, however, and since in the present instance he was confronted with business men largely, he keyed his address to suit the occasion.

You Americans [he said], have the arbitration germ inbred. There is your game of baseball, for instance. I never had a better illustration of American arbitration than when I went to one of your great games. There were all kinds of arguments among the players until finally the man whom they called the umpire settled the difficulty. He was there to arbitrate. Or rather, the disputants left the case in his hands. If it is good to have umpires in games of

sport, would it not seem to be equally good to have a court of arbitration to settle international issues?

Speaking of the economic problems before the world to-day, Baron d'Estournelles declared that the only kind of war that should enlist men in every land was the economic war. He said that what had happened in Europe, with the constantly increasing military expenditures, would happen in the United States in case economic progress was made of secondary importance, and army and navy development was given precedence.

You will be compelled to stop your improvements in other directions [declared Baron d'Estournelles], and in the end, as a result of general dissatisfaction, you will be confronted with conditions like we now experience in France, Germany, and other European countries. Look at what Denmark is able to do to-day through not having a great army and navy to keep up. She is able to send her products abroad, and even now in France we are getting butter from that country. They do not make it better than we, I take it, but they can sell it to us cheaper because they can make it cheaper. They have no excessive military taxes.

We are all wishing success to these great treaties of arbitration [the speaker continued]. But you must not forget that a treaty is one thing and the execution of the treaty quite another. To be sure that the treaty will be executed —that it will not fall short of its purpose—you will have to accustom the people as a whole to the peace ideal and to educate men and women to an understanding of the underlying principle.

Baron d'Estournelles went into the question of relationship between Japan and the United States. He said that he knew better now than before he had visited the Pacific coast that the American people did

not wish war with the Japanese. With Japan, as with America, he declared, the question was economic, but legitimate trade rivalry would never lead to such conflict as jingoism did its best to see materialised.

The French conciliator found complete corroboration of all he said relative to Japan when Dr. Iyenaga, as the next speaker, made it emphatic that a war between the United States and his country was as unthinkable as a war between the United States and Great Britain.

The greatest step toward universal peace ever taken [said Dr. Iyenaga], was the alliance between Great Britain and Japan following the Japanese-Chinese strife. It was not until then that the nations of the world began to take any notice of us. I am loath to say it, but it was not until we showed our supremacy on the field of battle that Japan was considered to be on the map. The Anglo-Japanese alliance prevented France, Germany, and Russia from depriving us of what we had gained.

But our people do not want war [Dr. Iyenaga said]. Why do you suppose we want war when it costs us 35 per cent. of our total revenue to keep prepared for war? We are a peace-loving nation, we want peace in Japan, peace in Asia, peace in the world, and this war talk between us and your country either emanates from a disordered mind or an imagination of evil.

The idea of universal peace is an old idea with us. Pity for all living things was a principle handed down by Confucius, and this principle has been followed by the leaders of our nation for thousands of years. To imagine that Japan's armament is for aggression is to show a vast ignorance of her history. The artistic temperament of her people refutes such assertion. But we were confronted with the problem of national existence. We quickly adopted Anglo-American ideas; we fought two wars against

our wishes. As for Japan and the United States [here Dr. Iyenaga pointed at the intertwining banners on the wall], in the words of our ambassador to your country: "The sun and the stars have never quarrelled in their courses."

Dr. Iyenaga's speech informed the members of the Economic Club what was the actual situation in the island empire. Baron d'Estournelles' long time experience in the diplomatic service was also a guarantee that the French conciliation worker had told them nothing which was not based on facts. But, when Price Collier was called upon to speak, he startled his audience by remarking at the outset that he proposed to talk about something for which his listeners might not be prepared.

I am no professional peace advocate [Mr. Collier began]. I am simply a traveller, an observer, if you please. But I want to say right here that whatever of prejudice the white man is meeting with in the Far East, it is of his own making. There may have been little danger from our complacent ignorance of Eastern affairs in the past. Our self-righteous ineptitude was safe, although ridiculous. But I tell you the relations between the East and the West have changed. Hitherto the question for the white races has been merely a consideration of how much Eastern territory they would take; how much indemnity they would demand; how much of their ethical code and religious preference they would impose, and what demands they would make for the commercial security of men of their own race trading in the East.

Now the problem is shaping itself differently, shaping itself to mean: How much must we give in return for what we take? How can we arrange matters to keep the East out of the West while at the same time securing free access

for the West in the East? The ignorance of the general public on problems like these is almost complete.

I can say for Japan that all her energies are now directed toward building up her commerce. Her people are no longer coming to the United States or Hawaii, but are going to Formosa, Korea, and Manchuria. I predict that in time Japan will control the trade of Asia. The time has arrived for educating the American out of his bumptiousness. There is nothing more opinionated than racial prejudice; nothing more difficult to deal with than the narrow uprightness which so often expresses itself in downrightness.

Whatever may have been Mr. Collier's reason for telling the Economic Club that he was no peace advocate, his speech brought home that he was in full agreement with the movement in so far as it concerned the arbitration treaties. He did not concern himself with the question of disarmament. In his book, *The West in the East*, he leaves the impression that the Western nations are reaping in the East according to their sowing, and that if the Orientals are becoming militant nations, Europe and America are alone to blame. An American with thirty years' residence in England, Mr. Collier considers Germany a model country. In view of the fact that he had just returned from an extended tour of Asia, his appearance in Boston furnished an exceptional opportunity for arbitration workers and others to get the latest intelligence from the Far East.

During his stay in Boston, Baron d'Estournelles also spoke before the Twentieth Century Club and in the South Congregational Church. Occupying the pulpit of the church on a Sunday morning, Baron d'Estournelles paid a warm tribute to Edward Everett Hale whom the French visitor termed one of the great men of the age. He said he appreciated deeply the fact that

the regular sermon of the morning had been dispensed with in order that he might talk to the congregation about the blessings of peace. He had met and heard Dr. Hale at the New York Peace Congress in 1907, and the simplicity, vigour, and prophetic character of his speech had made a profound impression upon him, he said.

I was especially impressed by Dr. Hale's reverence for the founders of the republic [Baron d'Estournelles said]. His constant efforts to keep the present generation in America alive to their high principles, his devotion to his country, and his unceasing activity, place him in the forefront of nation builders. The remarkable movement among the young people here in behalf of the peace cause is due to men who like Dr. Hale inspire a fine feeling and enthusiasm. I recall with peculiar pleasure the great meeting in Carnegie Hall when Dr. Hale addressed 5000 school children in connection with the Peace Congress of 1907.

I would urge every one in this congregation to support your President in his efforts to obtain unlimited arbitration treaties [the speaker continued]. Your future is secure because of your noble inheritance, but you must support the leaders in their high endeavours. It is peculiarly the duty of the churches to support these policies of peace. I am constrained to say that the churches in human history have not always done their duty in this matter. The churches in France have certainly not done theirs. Take the reigns of Louis XIV and of Napoleon I and Napoleon III, when the churches were almost constantly upon the side of privilege and power and war. The services of the churches, and often the very names of the churches, showed how unsatisfactory their course had been in this thing. It is high time for something better, and I rejoice that among the free churches of America and England we are seeing so much that is better. It is for this reason that I fail to understand how any man high in the church can praise war.

To me this is shocking and unbelievable were it not that it is said on the best of authority that a clergyman of high standing has so expressed himself.

What the churches need at this moment is the spirit of Edward Everett Hale. I am indeed proud and grateful to have been asked to speak in his church. This new experience will give me new inspiration and new consecration in my own work.

Need it be said that the congregation that listened to Baron d'Estournelles, as he spoke from the pulpit so long graced with the presence of Dr. Hale, followed his peace utterances with utmost attention? The history of the peace movement in New England, or for that matter in America, is replete with the persistent efforts of the Boston preacher to bring the world closer. To the rising generation, the activities of the earlier peace advocates are perhaps not clearly defined. But already there is evident a desire to give to the movement the historical perspective that is its due. It is beginning to be much better understood that the work which Dr. Hale and men of his calibre and generation performed in their day had a consequential bearing on the republic.

Almost three months before Baron d'Estournelles' visit to Boston, his Hungarian confrère, Count Albert Apponyi, spoke in the historic Faneuil Hall on the prospects of international arbitration. The former Minister of Education of Hungary has had exceptional opportunity to gauge the sentiment in favour of peace among his countrymen. A citizen of the dual monarchy which, as a member of the triple alliance, is among the most heavily armed in Europe, Count Apponyi could furnish first-hand information as to the heavy burden that militarism placed upon the shoulders of his countrymen.

Even the most cursory account of the peace movement in New England during the past few years would have to include Count Apponyi's short campaign of the country. His Boston visit furnished a chapter of considerable importance. It helped to throw additional light on the great awakening that has come to the American public generally touching arbitration, and on those who are active in bringing it about.

On the platform with the distinguished Hungarian in Faneuil Hall, on the evening of March 2d, were Governor Foss, former Governor Long, leading members of the various peace organisations, and a committee of local Hungarians.

In introducing Count Apponyi, ex-Governor Long said he did so in full and most grateful sympathy with his efforts for the cause of peace, mindful also of his conspicuous parliamentary career and of his work of public education in his native land.

Count Apponyi first drew attention to the fact that there was considerable difference between the peace of mere aspiration, depending on good-will, and the peace which is secured by an appeal to an institution like The Hague.

History [he said], shows the progress from one to the other in the relations between individuals. What we now want is to achieve the same progress in the relations between nations. Much advance has already been made, and if we can solve the problem of an international legislature and an international judiciary, I believe that the moral force of laws agreed to by all the nations, and of judiciary institutions accepted by them, will prove sufficient for insuring obedience to those laws.

The question of making arbitration obligatory was lost at the last Hague Conference, but there is great hope that it

will be accepted at the next. When President Taft declared that he stood for obligatory international arbitration without any restrictions—without even that of national honour and vital interest—he made one of the boldest statements ever made by the head of any nation, and put the United States at the head of this movement.

When we can settle the principle of judicial equality [Count Apponyi said], and the question of the representation of larger and smaller nations, we shall have taken a decided step toward solving the problem of the popular share in the work of international legislation.

Before a large and appreciative gathering in Harvard University, the Hungarian peace advocate reviewed the constitutional development of his country.

The conspicuous position of Harvard University in the peace movement of New England will no doubt be no less significant under President Lowell than when Dr. Eliot occupied the post for so many years. The president emeritus of Harvard entered upon a new stage of his career as a worker for international arbitration when he accepted the charge of the Carnegie Peace Endowment for International Peace to visit the Far Eastern countries for the purpose of studying the situation and delivering lectures that should help to remove misunderstandings so apt to prove stumbling-blocks for closer relations between nations. It is unquestionably a fact that few men better suited for such a mission as Dr. Eliot has undertaken could have been chosen. Considering that throughout the Far East graduates of Harvard are now building ahead where the university laid the educational foundation, it can be realised that Dr. Eliot's visit among the peoples now spurred to modern activity through the

influence of American-educated Orientals will bear fruit.

Writing in the *New England Magazine* about Harvard University and the peace movement, Edwin D. Mead says:

New England has for almost a century led the United States in the great movement for the peace and better organisation of the world which has now become the commanding cause of the age. William Ladd is one of the noblest and most significant figures in that whole history. William Ladd was a graduate of Harvard College. It was by one of his addresses heard in the old court-house at Cambridge by a yet more famous graduate of Harvard, Charles Sumner, shortly after he left college, that the deep impression made upon the latter while a mere boy of nine by a peace address by President Quincy of Harvard in the Old South Church was so confirmed that he became a permanent apostle of the cause.

It was in its interest [Mr. Mead writes], and not in that of anti-slavery, that Sumner began his public life with his famous Fourth of July oration in Boston in 1845 on "The True Grandeur of Nations." He remained an active worker for the cause to the end of his life, when he bequeathed to Harvard a thousand dollars in trust for an annual prize for the best dissertation by any student in the college, or any of its schools, undergraduate or graduate, on "Universal Peace and the Methods by which War may be Permanently Superseded." I think it may be said without fear of successful contradiction that Harvard University has contributed more great leaders to the peace cause than any other university in the world. The names of Channing, Ware, Ladd, Sumner, Parker, Emerson, Longfellow, Lowell, Holmes, Brooks, Hale, and Choate are but a few of the more illustrious. Presidents of Harvard have done signal service. President Quincy's Old South address of 1820, which so

deeply affected the boy Sumner, is still a useful tract. President Eliot's addresses, on various notable occasions in the last half a dozen years, upon the more constructive and defensive use of money now spent on battleships, upon an international police to take the place of the present rival national armies, upon larger provisions for publicity by the peace party, and upon the impressive lesson in disarmament furnished by the unguarded and therefore safe Canadian frontier, have commanded the serious attention of the whole country. President Lowell's studies of European governments are even better known than his work in American politics, faithful and important as that has been. He was one of the first men thought of as one of the trustees of the new International School of Peace, and immediately accepted place upon the board.

Speaking of Dr. Eliot's activity, it is interesting to recall the address made by the Harvard educator at the Lake Mohonk Conference of 1910, when he dwelt on "The Fears Which Cause the Increasing Armaments," as follows:

There must be some very strong reasons for the slow progress made towards an effective system of international arbitration and for the continuance of the extraordinary wasteful competition in armaments, for all the competing nations feel keenly the well-nigh intolerable burden of taxation which modern preparations for war on the instant, offensive or defensive, impose. I find these reasons in two chronic apprehensions felt by all the civilised nations alike—although the two are not equally felt by the different peoples because of geographical and commercial diversities. The first of these chronic apprehensions is the fear lest the nation's exterior supplies of food or the raw materials of its industries should be cut off. The second is the fear lest an immense hostile army should be thrown into the national territory with only a few days', or even a

few hours', warning. Either of these chronic apprehensions may be suddenly exalted to panic by occurrences of a really trivial nature. The speech of a minister before a legislature, a note from a ruler, or even a short series of articles in an influential newspaper may raise either of these chronic apprehensions to the dimensions of a panic. These fears are not fairly to be described as dreams, or illusions, or fantastic nightmares. They are not created, though they may be aggravated, by unscrupulous manufacturers, tradesmen, or newspapers. They are founded on historical facts borne clearly in mind by the present generations, and on generally accepted axioms concerning national well-being.

When Baron d'Estournelles, in his South Congregational Church address, said that what the churches of the day needed was the spirit of Edward Everett Hale, he unconsciously called attention to the fact that the peace propaganda in New England never had a more consistent advocate than the clergyman whose viewpoint was so all-embracing. With his departure, the peace movement of the world lost one of its ablest workers. Again it is Harvard University which may claim the honour of having started one of its sons upon a career that proved so conspicuous in the domain of internationalism. In France—as shown by Baron d'Estournelles' knowledge of Dr. Hale's activity—in Germany, in Great Britain, the author of *A Man without a Country* has risen to an eminence where his labours in behalf of humanity have left an indelible imprint.

Probably no other American took greater interest in the Lake Mohonk conferences on arbitration than Dr. Hale. Up to his death he was abreast of all happenings which had to do with the progress of the peace cause. He would have rejoiced had it been reserved for him to

have witnessed the present interest in the movement and the participation of the United States government.

Four years before Czar Nicholas' manifesto summoned the nations in conference at The Hague, Dr. Hale, before the first Lake Mohonk gathering, in June, 1895, with almost prophetic vision foresaw not only the international amity of the present, but the establishment of an arbitral world-court of which The Hague has proved the forerunner and which seems close to realisation. Speaking on "A Permanent Tribunal," Dr. Hale said:

I want to urge, first, second, last, and always, a permanent tribunal. This is the thing which, if I may use the expression of the streets, must be "rubbed in" to the public mind. You really do not advance much on the present conditions of affairs until you can get the governments of the world to see that it is a great deal better to appoint one permanent tribunal, I shall say those words a hundred times before I have sat down, for I wish that people may dream of it at night and think of it in the morning,—one permanent tribunal to sit for a hundred years, than to have to make a new tribunal for each particular case.

This was considered, in Henry IV's time, as somewhat visionary, though he came very near carrying the plan out. In the time of William Penn, a hundred years afterwards, it was still considered a dream, an ideal. But a hundred years after William Penn, comes along the United States, tries the great experiment, and it succeeds; and seventy million of people, in forty-four States, are now living under the success of that experiment. Nobody dares any longer say that it is dreamy or poetical or visionary, because it has succeeded better than the "dread arbitrament of war," better than the experiments of diplomacy. It has turned out that a permanent tribunal in the United States has wrought the success which no other experiment that has been tried has wrought. So we are, if I again may use the

The Misses Mary and Helen Seabury,
New Bedford, Mass. Donors of Prizes for the Encouragement of Discussing Peace in Colleges.
Photo by Boissonnas and Taponier, Paris.

Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead,
Lecturer and Writer on International Peace.
Photo by Purdy, Boston, Mass.

language of the ungodly, "on the inside track," and the burden of proof in this argument is on those people who want to make a separate court every time there is a quarrel.

This thing is not to be settled by singing [Dr. Hale said]. It is going to be settled by a hard-and-fast system, laid down in consequence of historical precedents, and in such a way that it may command the attention and respect of the practical people in the world. We may be quite sure that if we can propose a practical system which will commend itself to practical men, we shall go into any discussion of the subject with a good working force behind us.

Compare what Dr. Hale said at that memorable First Lake Mohonk Conference of 1895 with the events which have taken place in the international world in 1911 and since. The permanent tribunal has not yet come to pass but its realisation is within reach. Is it to be doubted that if Dr. Hale had lived and continued as chaplain of the United States Senate he would have lent a helping hand in impressing the members of Congress prayerfully with the importance of the arbitration treaties with France and Great Britain?

Shortly after Dr. Hale's death there was started a national movement to erect a statue of the great Bostonian in the city of his birth. To the coming generation such a monument to the noble work of a noble man must stand as conspicuous evidence that the labour of the humanitarian finds its reward in final appreciation. Dr. Hale was of that company of peace workers whose tasks were scarcely less arduous than the tasks of those who preceded them as the pioneers in the movement. The New England peace advocates of the present realise to the full what those who went before achieved and how they paved the way for the accomplishing of things still to be realised.

CHAPTER XXI

THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

International in Scope, This Organisation Has Ramifications Throughout the United States—Dr. Benjamin F. Trueblood as Secretary and Editor of the *Advocate of Peace*, Oldest Peace Journal Extant—Fearless in Utterance, Written with Care and Foresight, This Monthly Publication Exerts Great Influence—The Massachusetts Peace Society and Dr. James L. Tryon as Secretary and Director of New England Department—James Brown Scott on "The Learned Blacksmith of Connecticut"—Organising New England—Congressman Foster and Senator Gardner Able Champions—The Collegiate Element in Line—How Women Help.

THE American Peace Society is now at Washington where the national headquarters is bringing its influence to bear with increased force. But the time will never be, perhaps, when the present and future activity of this society can be dissociated from what it accomplished while New England—Boston—was the scene of the labours and propaganda of this the oldest peace society in the world. It is true, however, that the first New York Peace Society was the nucleus organisation of what in 1815 was the reorganised American Peace Society. It was in 1809 that David L. Dodge issued his famous peace tract entitled *The Mediator's Kingdom Not of This World*, the earliest peace literature in the world. With Mr. Dodge were associated in the peace enterprise men like Noah Worcester, William E. Channing, William Ladd, Josiah Quincy,

Samuel J. May, Henry Holcombe, and others equally prominent in national affairs.

Dr. Benjamin F. Trueblood, since 1892 the secretary of the American Peace Society, has told in graphic manner how William Ladd, a wealthy citizen of Maine, a Harvard graduate, was the real founder of the society. The literature of the American Peace Society is replete with other interesting information bearing on the progress of the organisation. With William Ladd the first president, the presidents to follow were Samuel E. Cous, of Portsmouth, N. H.; Anson G. Phelps, of New York; William Jay, of New York; Dr. Francis Wayland, Dr. Howard Malcolm, Edward S. Tobey, Robert Treat Paine, and the present head of the society, Theodore E. Burton, United States Senator from Ohio.

Distinctly national, and yet world-wide in its operations, the American Peace Society entered upon a new era with the establishment of headquarters at Washington. Organiser of national peace congresses, a persistent advocate of international justice as exemplified in the abolition of war, in season and out of season a foremost agency for moulding public opinion through lectures and literature, the American Peace Society is about to see realised what its members have long laboured for. Among the more than fifty vice-presidents of the society are numbered some of the most prominent men and women in America. The executive committee is composed of the following: Theodore E. Burton, Benjamin F. Trueblood, Richard Bartholdt, Eugene Levering, Samuel McCall, Jackson H. Ralston, George E. Roberts.

A word about the late president, Robert Treat Paine. In the *Advocate of Peace*, the monthly journal of the American Peace Society, there appeared in the issue of

September, 1910, a biographical sketch from the pen of Secretary Trueblood which is a tribute by one who knew Mr. Paine intimately. It read:

It was because of Mr. Paine's philanthropic character and work and his high standing as a citizen that he was chosen president of the American Peace Society in 1891. He was elected to this position while he was abroad in Europe. The choice came as an entire surprise to him, and he accepted it with reluctance because his hands were full of other interests and because of his inexperience in peace work.

But once in the service, his interest grew from the start, and in recent years the subject was very much on his mind and heart. He was one of the first members of the Mohonk Arbitration Conference when it was started in 1895. In 1893 he presided over one of the sessions of the Fifth International Peace Congress at Chicago during the Columbian Exposition, and he was instrumental in having presented to that congress a plan for a permanent international tribunal prepared by three eminent jurists of New York City. He visited the State Department and the President at Washington several times, either alone or with others, in the interests of arbitration, and it was largely due to his suggestions and representations that the negotiations for an Anglo-American arbitration treaty were first opened by Secretary Gresham.

Mr. Paine was president of the Thirteenth International Peace Congress at Boston in 1904. He spent much of the summer of 1907 at The Hague in touch with the delegates to the Second Hague Conference, especially those from the United States, urging the most advanced measures possible for the furtherance of permanent world peace. Mr. Paine signed the circular letter which initiated the preparations for the great National Peace Congress held in New York City in 1907. He also opened and presided at the first session of the Second National Peace Congress held at

Chicago in May, 1909. This was his last public service to the peace cause, although he was present at the annual meeting of the American Peace Society a few days later and at the Mohonk Arbitration Conference which followed.

That the American Peace Society has been a model after which many peace societies throughout the world have been patterned is a compliment to the nation and the men who have directed its affairs. Foreign statesmen like Count Apponyi, Baron d'Estournelles, Senator La Fontaine of Belgium, and others, hold the personal acquaintance of those most active in the American Peace Society. Both at home, and on various occasions in Europe, for instance, Secretary Trueblood has consulted with the Hungarian and French peace workers relative to international co-operation. When Baron d'Estournelles renewed his acquaintance with his American confrères in the domain of arbitration during his recent visit, he remarked on the astounding progress that the United States had made in the direction of world amity, and he considered it proper to say that much of the credit for this advance was due to the unceasing work performed by those among the officials of the American Peace Society charged with the task of educating public opinion up to an appreciation of what was being done for the welfare of the nation by working for the elimination of war.

It is in the *Advocate of Peace*, the official organ for the American Peace Society, that Dr. Trueblood, with trenchant pen and unmistakable ability, gives expression to views that show the fearlessness of this editor and those who with him labour to make the journal the mouthpiece for American peace opinion. In the November issue there appeared an editorial which bears

out this fact with striking candour. There is no mincing of matters when it says:

The ultimatum sent by Italy to Turkey on September 28th, in regard to Tripoli, astonished and disgusted the world. The reasons assigned by the Italian government for the unexpected and violent hold-up of Turkey across the Mediterranean have not commended themselves to the world-public, not even to that portion of it which is usually not over-scrupulous about the intervention of strong powers in the affairs of weaker ones.

Italy's lawlessness—for that is the true name of it—has been condemned by nearly all the respectable journals of the civilised countries—in England, France, Germany, the United States, etc. From every point of view the action has been judged to be indefensible. There had been, so far as the facts are known, no such exaggerated opposition to Italian citizens and Italian interests in Tripoli as the ultimatum laid emphasis upon. Nor does the Italian government appear to have made any effort whatever to secure an adjustment of the difficulties through The Hague institutions, which she had had an honourable share in creating. It seems, therefore, that her act in going to war after only twenty-four hours' notice and at once invading the country was nothing less than brigandage, pure and simple. The case against her has not been more clearly and strongly put than by an Italian paper, *Il Secólo*, one of the most prominent dailies in the peninsula. Speaking of the ultimatum it says, as given in the *Arbitrator*, that "with a like plea to-morrow some more civilised, stronger, wealthier, and war-prepared power could say to us, 'You have left half Italy in disorder and abandonment. Your southern regions welter in misery, illiteracy, political corruption, and superstition; roads, aqueducts, and every other means for exploiting their enormous latent wealth are lacking; we are going to take possession in order to introduce civilisation there.' What should we reply?"

The *Advocate of Peace* is written as much for the future as for the present. Whether as editor, lecturer, or in personal conversation with those perhaps less radical in their peace advocacy than the secretary of the American Peace Society, Dr. Trueblood holds fast to the principle which guided Noah Worcester who, as the first editor of the *Advocate of Peace*, left no opportunity unused for the promulgation of ideas that for the period in question were the essence of the idealistic and yet aggressive.

With the removal of the American Peace Society's headquarters to Washington, an entirely new complexion is placed upon the peace work in New England. The Massachusetts Peace Society has been organised with Samuel B. Capen, the president; Dr. James L. Tryon, secretary, and W. H. H. Bryant, treasurer. Dr. Tryon is also the secretary of the New England department of the American Peace Society. In pursuance of the new policy of the society, the various States are being organised into branches. The secretary of the Massachusetts Peace Society was the chairman of the committee which prepared and adopted the plans of State federation. The new order of things promises to further the peace cause throughout the nation.

As the former assistant secretary of the American Peace Society, Dr. Tryon brings to his present task as secretary of the Massachusetts Peace Society and the New England department a training which should prove invaluable. Of late, Dr. Tryon has been especially active in the preparations for a fitting celebration of the one hundred years of peace between English-speaking people. His tour of Canada in the interest of this celebration began a new chapter in Anglo-American amity. Everywhere in the Dominion the emissary

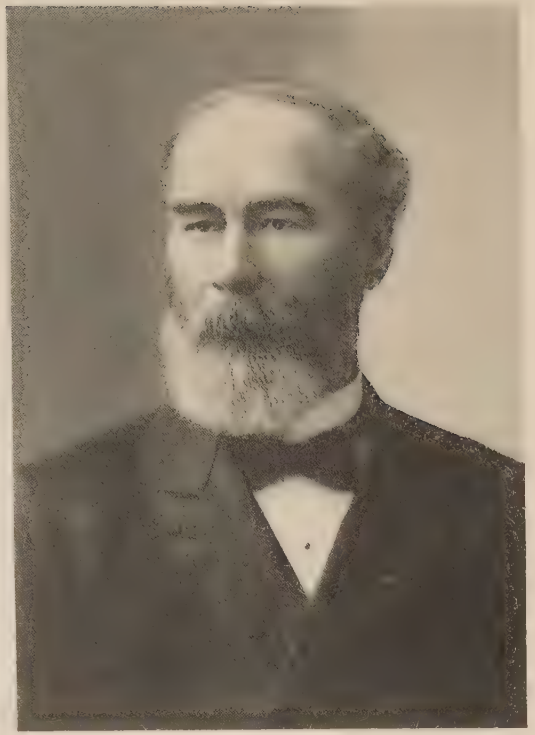
from the United States was acclaimed as heralding a closer unity between the two nations.

The particular aim which the New England secretary has had in view of late is to popularise the Hague movement among the legal fraternity. Himself a member of the bar, Dr. Tryon in the *Yale Law Journal* published a series of articles illustrative of the origin, growth, and possibilities of a tribunal where nations can adjust their differences. In the November, 1911, issue, he writes under the head of "The Hague Peace System in Operation":

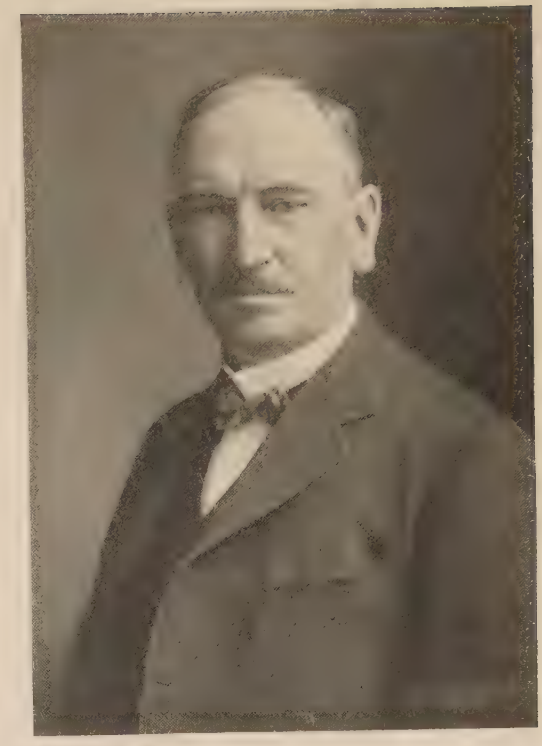
When the First Hague Conference adjourned, it left the signatory powers with a set of machinery for the prevention of war. The conference was not an assembly of visionaries nor of doctrinaires, but of practical men who worked on an historical basis. It adopted as international law only such principles as had previously been recognised, or were in process of recognition, by the nations. It sanctioned, for the most part, only such preventive measures as had been proved to be, or were believed to be, feasible. These were mediation, the international commission of inquiry, and arbitration.

Dr. Tryon shows what has been accomplished to date, and then asks and answers the question: "Will this system work?" He says:

A few years of trial have silenced many of the doubts of sceptics and more than justified the expectations of those who believed that the plan would succeed. Mediation stopped the war between Russia and Japan, one of the greatest wars of modern times. The international commission of inquiry probably prevented another war from breaking out at the same time between Russia and Great Britain. The several cases tried at the Hague Court,



Dr. Benjamin F. Trueblood,
Secretary American Peace Society, Editor *Advocate of Peace.*



Senator Theodore E. Burton,
President of the American Peace Society.
Copyright Harris & Ewing, 1908.

whatever evils they may have prevented, have settled issues that diplomatists could not adjust to satisfaction, and which in one case, the Fisheries, had baffled the efforts of the wisest statesmen in England and America for nearly a hundred years.

The system has been so successful that it has won the confidence of the world, but it must and will be improved, in the light of experience, by succeeding Hague Conferences until it is brought to perfection. In this work, every American publicist and lawyer ought to have his honourable share.

When the American Society for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes at Cincinnati, last November, chose Governor Simeon E. Baldwin, of Connecticut, for its president, it was in recognition of personal worth and the indefatigable labour of his State in behalf of the peace movement. It was left for Samuel J. Elder, of Boston, however, to deliver one of the two important New England addresses before that notable gathering. Mr. Elder spoke on "Judicial Determination in International Awards." The other New England speaker of chief importance was Professor John King Lord, of Dartmouth College, who took for his subject "Basis of Security in International Arbitration." Both papers created a profound impression. Mr. Elder's connection with the Fisheries arbitration case naturally directed attention to him as an authority of the first order. In the case of Professor Lord, members of a peace gathering have seldom listened to a more interesting address where profound legal acumen was made to mingle with such picturesque delivery.

It is not to be wondered at that France should have been so willing to enter into negotiations with the United States for an unlimited arbitration treaty. In the day

of Elihu Burritt, "the learned blacksmith," when this intrepid New Englander laboured both at home and abroad for the realisation of his idea, some of the leading Frenchmen were seriously considering plans for closer international fellowship. At the great international congress in Paris in 1849, at the historic meeting where Victor Hugo declared that "a day will come when a cannon will be exhibited in public museums, just as an instrument of torture is now, and people will be astonished how such a thing could have been," Burritt made an impassioned appeal for the establishment of a congress of nations and a court of arbitral justice remarkably like that advocated in recent times. Elihu Burritt's propaganda abroad, especially in France, led to the foundation of conciliation bodies such as the association of which Baron d'Estournelles is the founder and president is a conspicuous example. The French statesman's visit to New England partook of the nature of a pilgrimage to a territory where world-history had been made by men like William Ladd, Burritt, and those that followed.

The New England Arbitration and Peace Congress, held at Hartford and New Britain on May 8, 9, 10, 11, 1910, was virtually commemorative of Elihu Burritt's work, both in his native State, Connecticut, and elsewhere. The president of the congress was Dr. Henry Wade Rogers, Dean of the Yale Law School. The gathering not only emphasised the important part played by the New England States in the movement for universal peace; it brought to Hartford and New Britain some of the foremost men and women in the cause.

It is worth while to see how James Brown Scott, Secretary of the Carnegie Endowment for International

Peace, then solicitor of the Department of State, at the New England Congress summed up the achievements of Elihu Burritt. He said:

The life of Elihu Burritt, which has been a source of pride to New Britain and an inspiration to the humble of many lands, is, from a worldly point of view, singularly uneventful. A blacksmith by trade, a student by instinct, a scholar by attainment, an author of eminence, a benefactor and philanthropist by profession, he has written his name large in the history of international development. To bring the nations together into fellowship; to point out the likeness of the peoples rather than to accentuate their differences; to facilitate the exchange of ideas and ideals by travel, personal intercourse, and correspondence; to call into being a congress of nations for the codification of the laws of nations and an international court for their interpretation and application to controversies, so that an appeal to arms should be unnecessary—these were his aims, and the realisation of these was in part his personal achievement.

The idea was not original, for it had been the dream and hope of centuries; but his was the honour to proclaim it from the housetop, to organise congresses in its behalf in England and on the Continent, and to create a public opinion for its realisation. His work was interrupted by wars on the Continent and a civil war at home; he was not permitted to witness a Pan-American Conference or to acclaim a Peace Conference at The Hague.

The plan for a Congress and a Court of Nations which Mr. Burritt explained and laid before the Peace Conferences at Brussels (1848), Paris (1849), Frankfort (1850), London (1851), was the plan of his fellow-countryman, William Ladd. The resemblance between Mr. Ladd's congress and the assembly convoked in 1899 by the Czar of all the Russias is apparent, and the programme of the Hague Conferences is strikingly like the programme drawn up and

published by Mr. Ladd. "The Congress of Nations," he said, "is to have nothing to do with the internal affairs of nations, or with insurrections, revolutions, or contending factions of people or princes, or with forms of government, but solely to concern themselves with the intercourse of nations in peace and war: (1) To define the rights of belligerents toward each other; and endeavour, as much as possible, to abate the horrors of war, lessen its frequency, and promote its termination. (2) To settle the rights of neutrals, and thus abate the evils which war inflicts on those nations that are desirous of remaining in peace. (3) To agree on measures of utility to mankind in a state of peace. (4) To organise a Court of Nations."

No great imagination is required to picture what William Ladd and Elihu Burritt would have had to say about that great gathering in Connecticut in 1910; the Thirteenth Universal Peace Congress, held in Boston, in 1904; the great banquet of the Economic Club in honour of Baron d'Estournelles, and the many meetings in advocacy of the latest arbitration. Could the prophetic vision of these New England pioneers have asked for a fulfilment more desirable than that which has come to pass within the last few years? Two Hague Conferences have brought the nations closer than ever in the history of the world, and the Third Conference undoubtedly will bring to pass what has been anticipated and wished for as the most desirable happening of the twentieth century.

Immediately following the removal of the American Peace Society headquarters to Washington, a campaign began among the peace workers of New England for a thorough organisation of the respective commonwealths into State societies under the general supervision of the parent society. First to be organised was the Massa-

chusetts Peace Society with Samuel B. Capen, president; Dr. James L. Tryon, secretary, and W. H. H. Bryant, treasurer. The Connecticut Peace Society was already on the ground with Arthur Deerin Call, president, and Rev. R. W. Roundy, secretary. In New Hampshire there likewise was the Derry Peace Society, with Hon. L. H. Pillsbury, president, and Rev. G. Haslam, secretary. But as this is of a rather local importance, it was deemed necessary to organise the New Hampshire Peace Society, of which Dr. Ernest Fox Nichols, President of Dartmouth College, is the president; W. W. Thayer, secretary, and Rev. Sidney B. Snow, treasurer. The Maine Peace Society is the most recent acquisition, with George L. Crosman, president, and George E. Fogg and Fenton Tomlison, respectively, secretary and treasurer.

Conspicuous in the movement of Vermont stands President John M. Thomas, of Middlebury College, and the late David J. Foster, member of the House of Representatives from the Green Mountain State. Recently Middlebury College received a gift of money for the establishment of the "Deacon Boardman Peace Prize," in memory of Deacon Boardman who died in 1870. On his tombstone are the words: "To show the evils of international war was his great object in life." Few men were ever more ridiculed for advancing an idea beyond the comprehension of his day. Deacon Boardman occasionally offered a prize at the Vermont college for the best essay on peace, and the new fund will be used for the purpose of encouraging students in that direction.

As the former chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Congressman Foster had an excellent opportunity to acquaint himself with data bearing on

international affairs. He was a strenuous opponent to the fortification of the Panama Canal. In all other respects he championed President Taft's plans and was with him for unlimited arbitration treaties with the powers. At a recent dinner of the Boston City Club, the Vermont Congressman said that these treaties were part and parcel of the world movement which above all other movements is destined to give character and distinction to the twentieth century. The dinner in question had been arranged with a view to placing before the industrial, commercial, and financial factors of New England the intimate connection that exists between progress and peace and decline and war.

The goal of the government [Mr. Foster said], is the establishment at The Hague of a permanent international court, composed of fifteen judges, men learned in the law, versed in international affairs, and distinguished for wisdom and probity, whose judgment will carry conviction; and then a world treaty binding the nations to send to that court for adjudication all their international differences which cannot be adjusted by the usual methods of diplomacy; in short, an international union for the administration of international justice. And while the Second Hague Conference in 1907 failed to provide for a permanent international court with its fifteen judges, it did provide for the establishment of an international prize court with its fifteen judges. It is expected that that court will be organised shortly and then, for the first time in all human history, we shall have a genuine, permanent, international court for the trial of prize cases. And so much progress was made at that conference toward the establishment of a permanent court of arbitration that it may be safely asserted that such an institution is even now in sight.

Before that distinguished gathering at the Boston

City Club, Congressman Foster also discussed the negotiations for the treaties between the United States and Great Britain and France; how the Senate Committee had entered an objection by its majority report, and how the English people, as with one voice, had acclaimed the treaty as an instrument for world peace. He said:

> We have passed beyond the stage of the idealist, the dreamer, the utopian advocate of peace. We are addressing ourselves soberly to the problem of devising practical measures of relief for the people of the earth from conditions that have grown intolerable. Not in a day, or a year, or a decade shall we see the full fruition of our efforts. But we shall go forward with our task with the confident assurance that it is certain, certain beyond the possibility of a doubt, —that the promotion of this world movement will hasten the dawn of the day of the lasting peace of God.

New Englanders generally are beginning to realise how much they owe to the movement fostered within their States, and there has been a return to that moral and material support which is essential to a proper propaganda. But the fact must not be overlooked that because Andrew Carnegie or Mr. Ginn give of their millions in order that their respective foundations shall be properly equipped for the specific purposes in view, there is still a continuous need for monetary support of those societies not endowed as are the Carnegie institution and the World Peace Foundation. The distinction between a society and an institution is essentially this: the one gains its support through membership, the other has its regular funds upon which to draw. It is true that both Mr. Carnegie and Mr. Ginn are vitally interested in the various peace societies, and are generous

contributors. But, in the last analysis, it should be considered a privilege to aid, according to one's measure, in bringing about universal peace. The day will come when those who are now giving of their time, ability, and means in the furtherance of the great aim will be considered the benefactors of the race and mankind.

The organization of the New Hampshire Peace Society and the Maine Peace Society, both events occurring early in the present year, marked a new epoch in the great movement that had its inception in the very commonwealths now again arrayed against the world's greatest foes, war and carnage.

The distinguished speakers that were present at Manchester, N. H., at the formation of the New Hampshire Peace Society bore witness to the great service that William Ladd and Noah Worcester, both native sons, had rendered the commonwealth and the cause. Both Dr. Tryon and Edwin D. Mead spoke eulogistically of how these supposed ultra-idealists had looked ahead to a time when their visionary promises would prove practical to every-day existence. Mr. Mead emphasised how William Ladd anticipated every move of the Hague Programme and all the international demands of to-day. Professor John K. Lord of Dartmouth College also spoke on the legal status of the peace treaties and the result likely to follow their ratification.

Again at the organisation of the Maine Peace Society, Edwin D. Mead was one of the principal speakers. It was at this meeting that Senator Obadiah Gardner, of Maine, put himself on record as an out-and-out advocate of measures that would insure the ratification of the treaties with Great Britain and France, and any further efforts then under way for bringing about universal peace through arbitration.

In the vigorous campaign of the Massachusetts Peace Society in behalf of the treaties, few women exerted themselves as energetically as did the Misses Mary and Helen Seabury, of New Bedford. With family traditions embodying the teaching of the Society of Friends, the Misses Seabury have been for years identified with the American Peace Society. They are now among the most active workers in the Massachusetts Society. They frequently give prizes for pupils in high and normal schools, and they have been prominent in securing signatures in favour of the treaties to such an extent that their petition containing hundreds of names was sent to Washington by itself. The Misses Seabury often attend the Lake Mohonk Conferences on Arbitration and have been at the principal peace congresses in recent years, both in this country and in Europe.

While the Rhode Island Peace Society works along in a quiet way, it can be said for this New England organisation that it is not only the oldest State peace society in the Union, but one of the oldest in the world. The present officers are: president, James H. Chase; secretary, Robert P. Gifford; treasurer, Willis H. White. Until recently this society worked independently of the American Peace Society, but with the energetic campaign for uniting all the New England societies, this State organisation was prevailed on to join with those already included in the new arrangement for New England.

At no recent time in New England, perhaps, has the growing importance of the peace work in the East been exemplified in a similar degree than when the Massachusetts Peace Society celebrated the first anniversary of its existence by a dinner held in the Twentieth

Century Club, on the evening of May 24th of the present year. It is almost a paradox to say that the Massachusetts Peace Society is both the oldest and the youngest society of its kind. But the fact remains that when the American Peace Society removed its headquarters to Washington, there immediately stepped into the breach the Massachusetts Peace Society. The members in New England—in Massachusetts—of the parent body, became at once the members of the Bay State society. With more than 1000 members on its roll, the Massachusetts Peace Society fulfills already the best of the traditions that stand to the credit of the earlier workers in the great cause.

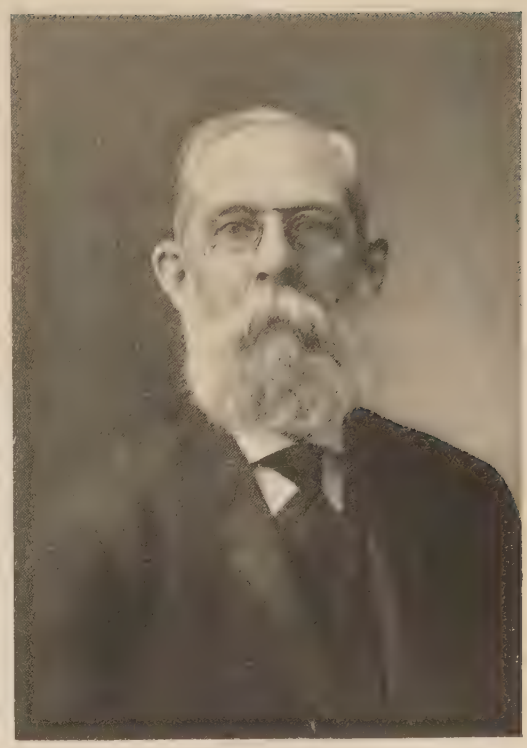
President Samuel B. Capen, in his opening remarks at the dinner in question, showed the world-wide importance of arbitration by saying that the programme of the Fifth International Congress of Chambers of Commerce, then on the eve of being held in Boston, contained as the first matter for consideration international arbitration. In an earnest appeal for cooperation Mr. Capen asked that the movement become popularised, and that the members should consider the work only begun. Reference was made to the regretful fact that the arbitration treaties with Great Britain and France had not been ratified as desired.

Among other speakers, Baron De Neuville, of Frankfort, Germany, who had been a delegate at the Lake Mohonk Conference, said some pertinent things about peace in Europe and America. He drew contrasting pictures, and he told the New England workers how he had come into the movement only after thorough conviction that it was the only course to take. He insisted on an educational campaign among the young people. Baron De Neuville spoke of the German

Dr. James L. Tryon,

Director New England Department American Peace Society, and Secretary Massachusetts Peace Society.

Photo by Lamont, Waltham, Mass.



Samuel B. Capen,

President Massachusetts Peace Society.

Photo by Purdy, Boston, Mass.

Emperor as a lover of peace whose reign had been an evidence to that effect. Referring to the peace movement in Germany, he had to confess, he said, that in the whole empire there were not as many persons directly identified with the propaganda as there are members in the Massachusetts Peace Society.

In a stirring address—an address that will long be remembered by those who took part in the anniversary celebration in Boston—Rev. Dr. Jenkin Lloyd Jones, of Chicago, spoke of what Chicagoans were doing to-day to raise the movement to a place where it would appeal to the masses. Dr. Jones is the head of the Abraham Lincoln Centre in the city by the Lake. People from every country on the globe, almost, are being drawn within that educational circle. A firm believer in symbolism, Dr. Jones said he would welcome the day when on certain occasions every flag of every nation should have around it a white border as a token of unity, and he added that he had already carried the flag-ideal into practice in one school in Chicago.

Jenkin Lloyd Jones is doing a great work for peace in the Central States, and his personality is of the kind that attracts others to him and to whatever he undertakes. Had he been of the New England company which now aims at paving the way for universal peace, he would have proven a most valuable addition to the Eastern workers among whom are such conspicuous individuals as Edwin Ginn, Edwin D. Mead, Dr. James L. Tryon, and scores of others no less earnest and persistent.

CHAPTER XXII

THE WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION

Edwin Ginn as Founder and Patron of One of the Great Agencies for the Abolition of War—His Reason for Establishing His International School of Peace—Some One Had to Furnish Money, Mr. Ginn Says, so He Gives One Million Dollars to the Cause—His Motive to Educate the Public to Understand the Principles of the Movement—Edwin D. Mead, Secretary of the Foundation, as Writer and Lecturer—His Mission to Europe—Address upon His Return to Boston—The Massachusetts Commission Investigating the High Cost of Living Gives Military Expenditures as a Reason —How 180 American Boards of Trade and Chambers of Commerce Request that the Treaties Be Ratified—The Co-operative Labours of Mr. Ginn and Mr. Mead—The Campaign of Baroness von Suttner in America.

WHEN Edwin Ginn, of Boston, established his International School of Peace, this exceptional philanthropist laid the foundation for one of the greatest educational factors that up to that time had helped in making war upon war a successful undertaking. When later the World Peace Foundation was formed, the campaign for moulding public opinion began in earnest. With its annual income of $50,000 from Mr. Ginn, there is available a sum that those in charge expend to good advantage. In Europe, as in America, Mr. Ginn's generosity has been appreciated highly by those who are the leaders in the cause.

The Board of Directors of the World Peace Foundation consists of the following; Dr. David Starr Jordon,

president of Leland Stanford University; Edwin D. Mead, secretary, who is in general charge and conducts the field work and literary departments; James A. Macdonald, editor of the Toronto *Globe*, who is active in the journalistic branches of the foundation; Hamilton Holt, managing editor the *Independent;* Dr. James Brown Scott, secretary of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; Rev. Charles R. Brown, dean of the Yale Divinity School; and John R. Mott, head of the World Student Christian Federation.

It was at the Thirteenth Universal Peace Congress, held in Boston, in October, 1904, that Mr. Ginn gave early intimation that he intended to initiate a movement which would facilitate the spreading of information relative to peace activity. In an address before the congress, Mr. Ginn said:

> From year to year the peoples of the civilised nations meet in convention to discuss the problems of peace and war. These conventions are exerting a good influence, yet the misfortunes of war are pressing upon us more heavily year by year. It would be difficult for any one to picture war in all its phases in stronger language than that used by Sumner in his *True Grandeur of Nations*, or by Channing in his *Discourses on War*, or by Bloch in his economic treatment of the subject. It is not the lack of knowledge of the horrors of war and the blessings of peace that retards our movement, but rather the indisposition of the people to grapple with the subject in a business-like way.
>
> Is it not time for us to look at existing conditions from a business standpoint? Any change in the existing order of things must be of slow growth, and it must be effected by education.
>
> We need a body of educators whose sole duty should be to go among teachers, awakening and developing an intelligent and adequate interest in this great subject. This work of

education should begin with the school children. It is with them that our greatest hope lies. Then, too, we need a corps of workers who should devote their time to the press. People desire information; and I am satisfied that the most important service to our cause could be rendered through the great body of kindly disposed newspapers.

Again, the clergy need to be awakened in much fuller measure to their duties and responsibilities for existing conditions. We should secure some of the ablest representatives of the pulpit and make it possible for them to devote the rest of their lives to arousing enthusiasm in this great cause. We also need the services of some of our ablest statesmen and lawyers, whose special task it should be to work among the legislators all over the land, those who have influence upon public opinion.

Before I close, permit me to throw out a hint, for the consideration of business men, in regard to the foundation of an organisation which might properly be called "A School of Peace." To establish and equip this "School of Peace" on broad and lasting foundations, a large endowment is necessary. If anything is to be accomplished in this world, some one must do something. Some one must put his hand to the work, or furnish the funds for other hands, in all undertakings, else they will fail. Moral influence is good, but if that is our sole reliance, this cause will not be advanced. Until this moral influence is quickened into action, little will be accomplished.

It is unnecessary to comment on the fact that as soon as the International School of Peace became established by Mr. Ginn it began to attract to itself the exact element that the founder had said would be needed for an effective propaganda. The literary bureau has assumed world-wide proportions. The board of lecturers is constantly being increased by men and women of exceptional qualifications aligning themselves with the Foundation.

Shortly following the organisation of the World Peace Foundation, Mr. Ginn issued a statement in which he outlined the task that confronted the peace workers of to-day.

The peace leaders have not impressed the people sufficiently with the idea that it is their work [he said among other things]. We must place responsibility as broadly as possible upon the people and ask them to take a hand in this work, and contribute money and time to it. It is not enough for the minister in the pulpit to devote one Sunday in the year to a peace sermon; or for the teacher in the school to give one day in the year to lessons on peace; or the newspaper one editorial in the year; or the men of business and finance to have a convention once a year to talk over these matters.

It will be the aim of the workers in our Foundation to go into the field and impart to various circles their own enthusiasm and sense of responsibility. The people must be awakened to the necessity of taking a vital hand in this work. Especially must our young men be enlisted—young men in colleges and elsewhere. The future success of the work depends upon the co-operation of vigorous young men who wish to devote their whole lives to carrying it forward, and who can inspire in others the same feeling, until every preacher, and every teacher, and every editor, and every important business man in the whole world is brought into active service for the cause.

The eagerness with which chambers of commerce in various parts of the country availed themselves of the opportunity to hear what Baron d'Estournelles had to say about the benefits of peace in the world of diplomacy as well as in the world of business was ample corroboration that the plans that Mr. Ginn proposed in 1904 had found partial realisation in 1911. The founder of the

World Peace Foundation no doubt built even better then he knew. The public was ready for the invitation to join in with the movement that had relied on its faithful adherents until the general awakening came. To make peace a popular subject it is also essential to make it picturesque. In the case of the French statesman, his entire career bespoke such enthusiasm for the cause of conciliation as to make his advent in America an event alike interesting to business men, ministers of the Gospel, educators, students, the workman, and the capitalist. What has happened since President Taft placed his arbitration treaties before the country is exactly what Mr. Ginn has advocated at peace congresses, and in the public press, at all times. It required to take the people into the confidence of the leaders, and the response was just what the response always is when the cause is righteous and for the benefit of all.

The World Peace Foundation has probably done some of its best work in connection with the move to bring the International Conference of Chambers of Commerce to Boston in 1912. That the conference was held in Boston was, in fact, due to the initiative furnished by the Foundation through its Department of Business Organisations. The European tour of American Chambers of Commerce under the auspices of the Boston Chamber in 1911 brought the invitation directly home to the transatlantic bodies, following the initiative of the London Congress the previous year which was prompted by the World Peace Foundation. The New England business men are conscious of the co-operation that the World Peace Foundation offers, and when the international conference took place it concerned itself earnestly with international peace as well as with commercial and industrial good-will.

Of considerable importance, likewise, was the poll taken by the World Peace Foundation in the matter of finding out what was the sentiment of the American business community relative to the arbitration treaties. Almost without exception the responses to the inquiry were that the country was awaiting a favourable decision by the Senate. Here, again, the propaganda has borne rich fruit. In not a few instances there was a remarkable lack of knowledge as to what militarism had to do with taxation and general prosperity. Special literature of the World Peace Foundation would then be sent in order to throw light on a subject that has become closely allied to the national life.

The Foundation Department of Women's Organisations has in Mrs. Anna Sturges Duryea an able advocate of the doctrine that is bringing more and more women to the peace standard. John Ruskin once said that the women of the world could put a stop to war whenever they said the word. Miss Eckstein's work with her World Peace Petition is sustained by the Foundation.

In the publicity department, which naturally is one of the chief activities of the Foundation, Denys P. Myers and Arthur W. Allen are rendering exceptional service. Mr. Myers' familiarity with international law has enabled the Foundation to meet the many far-reaching issues of a legal nature arising so frequently. As a statistician, Mr. Allen has proved of great worth in the preparation of cards and broadsides that have been strong weapons in the hands of arbitration advocates.

Edwin D. Mead has long and everywhere been recognised as one of the mainstays, not only of the peace movement in New England and in the United States, but in the world. Since the days of Edward Everett Hale,

and during a considerable time when this remarkable man laboured for his practical ideal, no other individual has been able to fill the niche exactly as Mr. Mead now fills it. It was peculiarly fitting that he should edit Dr. Hale's *Mohawk Addresses*. As a patriotic American, as a lecturer, as a writer, as a citizen of the great commonwealth which knows his efforts in all affairs of civic importance, the Secretary of the World Peace Foundation long ago showed his mettle. For if ever an advocate of any cause was unafraid, that designation must be applied to Edwin D. Mead.

As one-time editor of the *New England Magazine*, Mr. Mead showed his appreciation of world arbitration. He has written voluminously upon the subject. To mention a few of his contributions, there is his *Organise the World*, *Kant's Eternal Peace*, and *Charles Sumner's More Excellent Way*, written in 1898. Among his other pamphlets that have brought the movement before the public in an interesting way because of literary charm and able exposition are *Heroes of Peace*, *The Literature of the Peace Movement*, *The Great Design of Henry IV*, *The Results of the Two Hague Conferences*, and *The International Duty of the United States and Great Britain*.

While a writer of undeniable force and perspicuity, Edwin D. Mead unquestionably shows himself at his best on the lecture platform. To recall a late instance.

At Ford Hall, Boston, where questions vital to the people are constantly being discussed by eminent speakers, Mr. Mead delivered an address on "The United States as a World Power." To the large audience that greeted the Secretary of the World Peace Foundation he pointed out how this country to-day has the greatest opportunity for leadership and world power that a nation ever had. He earnestly com-

mended the arbitration treaties entered into with Great Britain and France and said that "if the American people permit the arbitration treaties to fail in any degree, after the high hopes and expectations aroused throughout the world, it would be a crime against civilisation." The speaker traced the evolution of the United States as a political entity, how the Central and South American nations were born through struggles similar to those of the Northern republic, and how the possibility of universal peace now appears as a crowning effort of national existence in the Western world.

Baron d'Estournelles' successful campaign in the United States brings to mind the equally successful lecture tour of Mr. Mead during the summer of 1911 when he spoke in England, Germany, France, and Hungary on the movement for peace among all nations. Mrs. Mead accompanied him and also spoke everywhere. Probably no part of the over-sea journey meant more to Mr. Mead or the cause that he represents than his visit to Leipsic, his old university town. Professor Ostwald, who is remembered at Harvard as the German exchange professor of a few years ago, assisted in the organisation of a Leipsic Peace Society and promised to assume the office of president. Professor Lamprecht, the famous historian, is another warm supporter of the German peace movement. He has done much to further the work of the International Club formed by the students of the university. Such International Clubs have also been formed at Berlin, Munich, and Göttingen; and this important work among the German students owes its initiative to a young American scholar connected with the World Peace Foundation.

At Budapest, Mr. Mead had an inspiring meeting with Count Apponyi. Many of the leading statesmen

of Hungary expressed their desire to meet the United States half way on the issue of universal peace. In Great Britain, this desire for closer relationship through the arbitration treaties was especially pronounced. The Ford Hall address by Mr. Mead upon his return home was largely for the purpose of showing how Europe was beginning to realise that arbitration leadership should be initiated from America, and that all that was needed was for this country to give persistent public expression to that effect. At the same time that Mr. Mead was working in Europe, President Jordan, also in behalf of the World Peace Foundation, was giving his stirring addresses in Japan of which account is given in another chapter, and Dr. Macdonald was speaking in England and Scotland.

It is no easy matter to sum up an activity like that of Mr. Mead's within the compass of a few pages of a work dealing with a movement so great and far-reaching as that in question. Suffice it to say for the present that in the mass of literature that issues from the propaganda department of the World Peace Foundation can be traced the discriminative power of one who knows what the public ought to know about world peace. He is the editor of the International Library. Pamphlets of every conceivable kind, in which are traced the relationship between the international problem of good-will and national prosperity, testify to the magnitude of the undertaking. One such pamphlet will do as showing timeliness. It has to do with the high cost of living. The data were taken from a report published by the Massachusetts commission investigating the increase in the cost of living. It read, in part:

In weighing the causes that have contributed to increase

the cost of living, this commission is convinced that a most far-reaching influence in creating, fostering, and perpetuating high prices is militarism, with its incidents of war and waste and its consequences in taxation. This commission does not care to discuss the philosophy of militarism. It simply desires to show that war in all its phases is one of the most serious influences in producing present high prices. The term "militarism" includes all that enters into the creation, organisation, and preparation of armies and navies, as well as the actual warfare for which they are designed.

After recounting how the great and lesser wars had sapped the nations of men and money, how the national debts had piled up as a result of conflicts, how governmental expenses everywhere had increased enormously, the Massachusetts commission produced figures to prove its contention that militarism and the high cost of living have always gone hand in hand. It showed that during the Crimean War, when the wheat and grain markets of Russia were closed and exportation except by land practically stopped, food prices in 1853 went up 14 per cent. and in 1854 20 per cent. above those of 1852, while cloths and clothing advanced about 12 per cent.

It is among other things for the purpose of educating commercial interest to appreciate the value of peace that the literature of the World Peace Foundation is distributed. A pamphlet, "Chambers of Commerce for Arbitration," is a mine of information.

There were received [it reads] strong resolutions indorsing President Taft's negotiation for the unreserved arbitration treaty with Great Britain and France from 180 Boards of Trade and Chambers of Commerce in the United States. . . . These bodies represent the almost unanimous senti-

ment of the leading business men in the several cities, and the cities heard from have a combined population of 21,000,000. The Chambers of Commerce in Great Britain and France are expressing themselves as earnestly as our American organisations.

No two men ever laboured side by side with better understanding of each other's qualifications for a specific task than Edwin Ginn and Edwin D. Mead. The founder and the secretary of the World Peace Foundation are not given to great professions as to the ultimate result to come from their peace work. But in an era when commercialism and favouritism play conspicuous parts in many directions, it is interesting to find that a cause which has probably had arrayed against it more argument and more direct opposition than any other movement dealing with the humanities has champions who set aside all personal considerations so that the world may become better by as much as earnest effort and a right motive can accomplish.

It must have become apparent to the reader that to bring the full activity of the World Peace Foundation under the one chapter head is not possible, since in all the various avenues, in the work of the American Peace Society, in the American School Peace League, in the Association of Cosmopolitan Clubs, the founder of the Foundation and the secretary figure constantly. Even where Andrew Carnegie has centred his peace-munificence in the establishment of the ten-million-dollar endowment that bears his name, the interests of the World Peace Foundation are to be reckoned with to a degree, since Dr. James Brown Scott, the secretary of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, is also a director in the World Peace Foundation. Nothing was

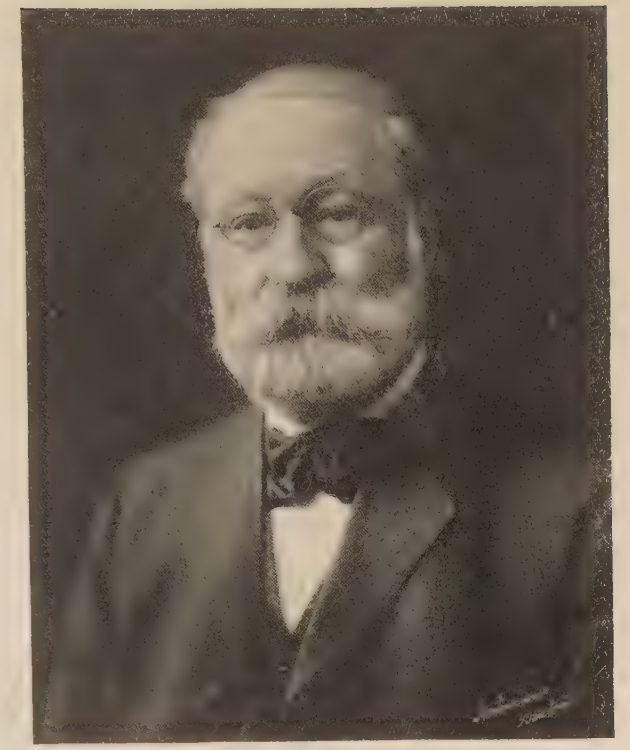
more natural than that the International Library, published by the Foundation, should have had added to its publications Elihu Root's argument before the Fisheries tribunal at The Hague, with an introduction by Dr. Scott which constitutes an important work by itself. Two other valuable works prepared by Dr. Scott, relating to the Hague Conferences, are also included in the International Library, which is altogether the most important series of peace books which now exists.

That the World Peace Foundation should have taken an important part in bringing the Baroness von Suttner to the United States is but a fact such as tends to focus more decidedly yet the untiring efforts of those charged with carrying out the wishes of the founder. When Bertha von Suttner wrote her *Lay Down Your Arms*, this Austrian lady of high birth contributed to the peace movement of the world a document that is more and more endearing itself to the workers of the cause. Mr. and Mrs. Mead have been especially interested in making the sterling qualities of Baroness von Suttner better known in America. It is true that at the Boston Congress on International Peace the Baroness was already a delighted as well as a delightful participant. But since that historic event there has been a tremendous awakening among Americans as to the necessity and significance of world peace. And with Europe still an armed camp and the powers no less anxious for disarmament than in the years gone by, the Baroness von Suttner has been able to tell her fellow-workers this side the Atlantic many things vital to the international issue. Naturally, this Austrian visitor's appeal was directed to women, and nothing was therefore more to the point than her appearance before the National Federation of Women's Clubs at San Francisco. Her

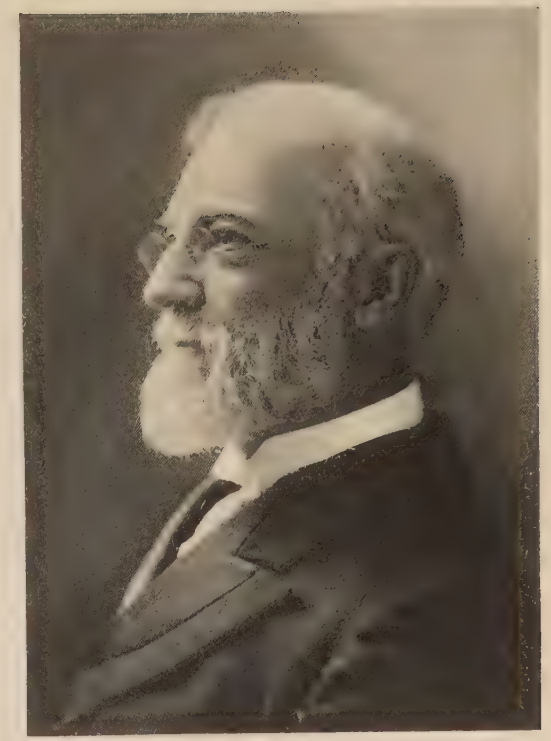
coming to America was an event of supreme significance. Whether at San Francisco, where the Baroness spoke at many gatherings before the women assembled from every part of the United States, or at Chicago, where a short time afterwards she addressed the American School Peace League meeting in conjunction with the National Education Association, the Austrian peace worker displayed rare skill in presenting facts in picturesque fashion. President Jordan introduced her to the teachers assembled at Chicago as "the greatest personal force for universal peace in the world," he accentuated a widespread feeling.

The peace movement [said the Baroness at Chicago], takes on three distinct aspects. We consider it as a religion, as a science, and as a warfare. As a religion, it deals with our duties toward God and man, and appeals through our nobler feelings of love and mercy to all that is divine in our souls. As a science, it bases its arguments on history, on political economy, and on the natural laws of evolution. As a warfare, it arouses in our hearts the energy for contest, the resolution for victory, the passion of contempt for the lies, the follies, and cruelties of the other side.

You in America, where this movement has been born and where it has been so widely spread, where it is recognised by your statesmen and endorsed by your executive head, William H. Taft, the initiator of the great arbitration treaties—you cannot know how bitterly the battle is being waged between the old and the new order. As we, the citizens of Europe, can see it, there the war institution is supported by the thrones, the schools, the press, and even the churches. What I have seen and experienced since I have been in this country proves that our help in you is well founded. I an just returned from California. There an army of women, representative of 800,000 feder-



Edwin D. Mead,
Secretary World Peace Foundation.
Notman, Boston.



Edwin Ginn,
Founder of the World Peace Foundation.
From a photograph.

ated women, assembled in convention, fully indorsed the principle of world peace as I laid it before them. On July 4th, your national holiday, the programme of the grand rally meeting was termed "The Declaration of Peace." In the background of the platform hung your proud star-spangled banner, bordered with white, and my Austrian black and yellow flag, with the same border. Your flag even without the white border, is a symbol of peace, for its forty-eight stars show the possibility of our movement—the federation of the nations. I wish you could grasp the magnitude and the beauty of the task you have assumed. In the glorious work for the world's peace you may feel that it is the highest issue of the twentieth century, for it infolds every other human field of human uplift. It is the salvation from ruin and destruction.

The memoirs of Bertha von Suttner have been published in the International Library of the World Peace Foundation. Nothing in it is more interesting than where the Baroness speaks of her acquaintance with Alfred Nobel, the founder of the Nobel prizes; and it certainly lends colour to the reading when one considers that it was due to the manner in which the benefits of peace were by her contrasted to the horrors of warfare that Nobel gave so freely of his millions in order that more efforts should be forthcoming to establish universal peace among nations.

The trustees of the Foundation are Edwin Ginn, President Lowell of Harvard University, President Faunce of Brown University, President Swain of Swarthmore College, Professor Samuel T. Dutton of Columbia University, Miss Sarah Louise Arnold, dean of Simmons College, Rev. Edward Cummings, Hon. Samuel W. McCall, George A. Plimpton of New York, George W. Anderson, Samuel B. Capen, and Albert

E. Pillsbury of Boston. The Advisory Council is composed of a body of men and women distinguished for their prominence in educational and civic affairs. The list of men includes the leading peace workers of the country. Among the women are Miss Jane Addams, Mrs. May Wright Sewall, Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead, and Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews. When the arbitration treaties were under consideration, both outside the Senate and within the active workers in the Foundation used their untiring efforts toward educating the public to a realisation of the importance that the treaties should be ratified. It would be untrue to say that the failure of the Senate to ratify the treaties in their original form did not disconcert such peace workers. But the very state of affairs that prevailed told them that much work was yet to be done, and that if success were to crown their efforts the real endeavour had to be made at the bottom of the ladder. It is for this reason that the World Peace Foundation takes such interest in all that has to do with peace work in the schools.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE AMERICAN SCHOOL PEACE LEAGUE

How Teachers and Pupils Are Working Together for a Better Realisation of National Responsibilities—The Remarkable Initiative of Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews, Secretary of the American School Peace League—Peace Day, May 18th, in the Public Schools—The New Way for Teaching History—Lucia Ames Mead as Lecturer and Writer—The Campaign of Julia Ward Howe—The History Conferences at Clark University—Linking Japan and the United States—Professor George G. Wilson on "The Family of Nations Idea"—Olive Schreiner's *Woman and Labour.*

SOMETHING has already been told about the remarkable attainments of Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews, the Secretary of the American School Peace League, in the direction of the teaching of peace doctrines among the school children. But while the propaganda has taken hold in earnest in the West and the Northwest, it is at the executive quarters in Boston that Mrs. Andrews maps out the campaigns which, during the past few years, have not only taken her through the United States, but abroad.

It was no small matter to bring the efforts of the American peace advocates before the educational bodies of this country, even though in the higher institutions the aims of the peace workers have been generally understood for some years. But in the public schools, where the real education must begin, it is only since the organisation of the American School Peace League

that those intrusted with the young idea have been made to see the necessity for them joining issue with the peace societies. That the co-operate result is so gratifying is due in large measure to Mrs. Andrews' labours.

The league is an outgrowth of the First National Peace Congress held in New York in 1907. When for the second time, in 1911, the secretary visited Europe, there was a spontaneous acceptance of her plan for bringing the American and over-sea school organisations closer. It is now possible to predict that before long the American School Peace League's work will spread in Europe, as it has in the United States, through the efforts of teachers in all kinds of educational institutions. The concern of the league, however, just now is to establish a working basis, so that the influence of the teacher on the pupil can be exerted fully.

Mrs. Andrews early discovered how internationalism could link American and European teachers. Across the Atlantic, more particularly on the Continent, the military idea is still inculcated in the young. But there exists now in Europe what is called an "International Federation of Teachers." The national educational bodies in such countries as Germany and England, which are repesented in the federation, number upward of 100,000 teachers each. The president of the federation is M. Charles Rossignol of Belgium.

Mrs. Andrews while in Europe was the official representative of the National Educational Association to the British Teachers' Association. Her mission was in fact to return the visit of Miss Kate Stevens who took the greetings of the London society to the National Educational Association at its convention in San Francisco in 1911. Miss Stevens had come to assure the

American teachers of the hearty support which their fellow-workers in England gave to the proposal for an unlimited arbitration treaty. While in London, Mrs. Andrews pointed out how the celebration in commemoration of the one hundred years of peace between English speaking people was at hand, and she said that this was the opportune moment to impress the children with the significance of peace as against the barbarism of war.

Among New England women who have been especially conspicuous relative to support of the American School Peace League is Mrs. J. Malcolm Forbes, of Milton, Mass. Prominent likewise in the American Peace Society, Mrs. Forbes for the past few years has given large sums to the cause. This distinguished member of the Massachusetts Peace Society, besides, took an exceptional interest in the negotiations for unlimited arbitration treaties with Great Britain and France. When the New England society obtained thousands of signatures in favour of the treaties, and the matter was due for consideration in the Senate, Mrs. Forbes took the petition to Washington where she handed it to Senator Crane for his presentation to Congress.

"Peace Day," as now observed in hundreds of American schools in commemoration of the First Hague Conference, on May 18th, is due to the efforts of the American School Peace League. The following is a typical programme as carried out in the Boston schools. The motto for the day was "My country is the world, My countrymen all mankind," the world-famous utterance of William Lloyd Garrison. Then came the singing of Oliver Wendell Holmes' famous hymn, "Angel of Peace," which was followed by a recitation of

James Russell Lowell's "The Fatherland." Fifteen children next took part in an exercise called "What To-day Signifies." Each child covered a subject, as follows: "What the Eighteenth of May Means," "The Cost of War," "The Czar's Plan for Peace," "The Young Queen's Invitation," "The House in the Woods," "Topics Discussed," "Choosing the Umpire," "War no Longer Necessary," "The Peace of Portsmouth," "The Dogger Bank Affair," "The Hague Conference," "The Palace of Peace," "The Second Peace Conference," "A Supreme Court of the World," "The Third Peace Conference."

It is toward the Third Hague Conference that all the world is looking. Schools, business men, universities, the farmers, and the financiers, all classes are vitally concerned in what is to transpire at the Dutch capital. It can be said that the peace activity of the world is concerning itself with nothing as much as this future meeting when the nations of the earth will send representatives to discuss the possibility of making war obsolete. The teachers of America have an opportunity before them unequalled in the annals of the republic.

How to reach their pupils, now that the teachers have enlisted in the cause of peace, naturally is the main issue. The methods of work differ somewhat in the various State branches. In Massachusetts, a committee has arranged a course in Good-Will which embraces a number of interesting plans. For instance, the committee begins in Grade I with teaching good-will to pets and playmates; in Grade II it takes up the ties of home life; in Grade III, those of school and playtime; in Grades IV and V, the ties to the city or town; in Grade VI, it reaches out to the nation as a whole; in Grade VII, it accents month by month the helpful

characteristics of the many nationalities that mould American life, tries to develop the brotherhood toward other nations which grows out of intimacy and appreciation; in Grade VIII, it faces what Professor William James well calls, "The moral substitutes for war," teaching the need of working together, a united army of many nations, in defence of civic and political ideals. It shows, further, the necessity for a centralised world authority which will render possible such concerted action among the nations; and finally it teaches the historical events which are leading directly toward a well-defined world-organisation.

Among the noteworthy literature that has helped to bring the work of the league before teacher and pupil is Wilbur F. Gordy's address which he delivered at the meeting of the National Educational Association, at Denver in 1909, entitled "Teaching Peace in the Schools through Instruction in American History."

In the matter of history teaching, the chief objection of the leaders of the peace movement is that historical events have been placed in the wrong perspective, that war and conquest have been glorified to the exclusion of the happenings that make for international conciliation. It is not the purpose, it is averred, to make national patriotism less attractive. But it is believed that there can be created in the juvenile mind such a conception of what world peace means that there will be far less difficulty in convincing the boys and girls when grown to manhood and womanhood that the brotherhood of man can be accomplished without the least sacrifice of national dignity or honour.

Lucia Ames Mead, whose work as lecturer, writer, or traveller, here and abroad, in behalf of the peace movement, has placed her in the front rank among women

peace advocates, in her *Patriotism and Peace* furnishes a concise picture of the aim and method of those concerned with teaching the young idea. Mrs. Mead says:

To teach even the elements of patriotism and the new internationalism, the teacher must perceive the organic relation between her little schoolroom and the nation, and between the nation and the family of nations. One may teach the multiplication table admirably without knowing cube root, but one cannot teach even an eight-year-old boy what saluting the flag means unless one has a comprehension of many things beyond not only the child's understanding, but beyond that attained in the last century by the normal school graduate. The teacher who reads no thoughtful review of the history that is in the making, who claims to "care nothing for politics," who does not vote if she is entitled to vote, may teach reading, writing, science, and arithmetic to perfection; but until she enters vitally, with as eager interest as time and strength permit, into the larger human life, she cannot inspire her instruction in any subject that teaches the child to approach properly the greatest problems before the world to-day.

This education is new and practical, it aims at nothing utopian. It supplies knowledge of new methods of preventing latent evil from finding outlet. Just as the latent hoodlumism in the child of the gutter is prevented from coming to the surface if wholesome activities in a good playground are provided; just as passion which once found vent in duelling is largely side-tracked when courts are well established, so latent antagonisms between communities may be prevented from ending in stupid waste of property and life by the use of methods made practicable only since democracy and rapid communication have brought about new world-conditions.

A few years ago, in Washington, a teacher asked a boy to define the word "patriotism," and he replied: "It means killing Spaniards,"—a natural reply for a boy who had lived

through the Spanish War, when in various instances the movements of the fleet were daily marked with pins upon the school maps, and some teachers even brought toys to school which illustrated the blowing up of the *Maine*. A child's paper some time ago presented the picture of an old man showing a boy a gun, beneath which were written the words: "A Lesson in Patriotism."

The teacher who would teach patriotism must first of all have a much clearer conception of its meaning than do some of those who trace their lineage to Revolutionary heroes, but confound pride in ancestry, a love of colonial relics, and an admiration for brass buttons and bunting with patriotism. No doubt admiration and pride are an element in this noble virtue, but, after all, its only real test is one's own service. The little patriot must clearly see what foes he has to fight. The child, from day to day, as occasion arises, may be shown not merely that ignorance, intemperance, waste, etc., but his ardour as a patriot must be roused to prepare him to buckle on his armour of wisdom, and take the sword of justice, and look forward to a superb encounter with these foes in battle royal. He must learn that ninety-nine hundredths of all practical patriotism is the good citizenship needed to fight these foes, and this is the rarest kind of patriotism, and its glory is to serve without expectation of medals and titles and pensions.

Mrs. Mead's exposition of the aims of the American School Peace League is that the league desires to give the teacher the power to furnish the child with the new tools which this practical age of internationalism demands. She shows how the work originated at the New York Peace Congress in 1907, when Carnegie Hall was packed with pupil-delegates from grammar and high schools, due largely to the initiative of Miss Mary J. Pierson, of School 63. The latter secured the co-operation of the school authorities. The meeting

was addressed by Baron d'Estournelles, William T. Stead, and many educators. In the organisation which followed, Mrs. Mead credits Mrs. Andrews with displaying extraordinary ability, and this ability she has continued to exercise to a remarkable degree where the task of bringing the American School Peace League before the public as well as the teaching fraternity involved no little tact and much labour.

The officers of the league are: James H. Van Sickle, Superintendent of Schools, Springfield, Mass., president; F. E. Spaulding, Superintendent of Schools, Newton, Mass., treasurer; Harlow N. Higinbotham, Chicago, chairman of Finance Committee; Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews, Boston, secretary. There are eighteen vice-presidents, including President Jordan of Leland Stanford, and P. P. Claxton, United States Commissioner of Education. President Taft is honorary president.

The literature of the peace movement, as Edwin D. Mead says, has in Sumner's *Addresses on War* and Channing's *Discourses on War*, two books that any student wanting to acquaint himself with the great cause cannot be without. Other New Englanders have contributed largely in that direction. Mrs. Julia Ward Howe's Peace Crusade, which forms part of her *Reminiscences*, deals, as Mr. Mead writes, "with an episode in her life too generally forgotten, but is the story of one of the most impressive efforts in a life so crowded with great and noble efforts."

Writing further about Mrs. Howe's efforts to stem the tide of war, Mr. Mead says:

> It was hardly five years after the close of the Civil War that the terrible Franco-Prussian War broke out; and

Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews,
Secretary American School Peace League.
Photo by Purdy, Boston, Mass.

Prof. James H. Van Sickle,
President American School Peace League.

while it was still in progress, Mrs. Howe tells us that she was visited by a sudden feeling of the cruel and unnecessary character of the contest. "It seemed to me," she wrote, "a return to barbarism, the issue being one that might easily have been settled without bloodshed. The question forced itself upon me, Why do not the mothers of mankind interfere in these matters, to prevent the waste of that human life of which they alone bear and know the human cost? I had never thought of this before. The august dignity of motherhood and its terrible responsibility now appeared to me in a new aspect, and I could think of no better way of expressing my sense of these than that of sending forth an appeal to womanhood throughout the world."

More than forty years after Julia Ward Howe made her stirring appeal to her sisters and her brothers throughout the world, another resident of New England, Raymond L. Bridgman, in a work of an entirely different nature makes an appeal no less effective in furtherance of the peace cause. *The First Book of World Law* is the first book of its kind to show that the world is working along certain judicial lines, only in degree, and not in kind, inferior in scope to what internationalists desire to be in operation everywhere. The author states that this book follows logically his former work entitled *World Organisation*. In the chapter "Antecedents of the World Legislature," Mr. Bridgman shows how everything has moved toward unification. Speaking further on about the Universal Postal Union, he points out how here "we find the first great illustration of the united action of the nations, the first act of world legislation which includes all the world."

In the case of the history-conferences at Clark University, Worcester, Mass., these annual events consti-

tute peace measures for maintaining good relations. In the winter of 1911 the conference dealt with Japan and the United States. It is perhaps true that the most active peace workers in attendance were Edwin D. Mead and Dr. David Starr Jordan. But every address, whether by American or Japanese, breathed the spirit of conciliation. There was an evident desire to bring before the conference that misstatements and misconceptions were instigators of war and unfriendliness between nations. University professors, authors thoroughly familiar with the Orient, men who had been foremost in bringing the religion of the West into the countries of the Far East, were of one mind in proclaiming that if truth prevailed in all instances nations would remain at peace with each other.

Coming as the conference did toward the end of perhaps the most eventful peace year in the history of the country, and immediately preceding the reconvening of Congress, when the arbitration treaties would be brought before the Senate, the Worcester gathering took on a double importance. A glance at the programme will prove how important were the subjects discussed by experts in their respective lines. Among the Japanese in attendance, Dr. Inazo Nitobe, President of the First Higher School and professor in the Imperial University, Tokyo, stood out conspicuously. The author of *Bushido, the Soul of Japan*, took for his subject, "Japan as a Coloniser." Formerly the adviser to the Governor-General of Formosa, Dr. Nitobe discussed interestingly how the Japanese had employed only peaceful measures in order to bring the Formosans to their way of thinking.

Other leading Japanese who delivered addresses that

had for their purpose closer relationship with the United States were: Toyokichi Iyenaga, Professorial Lecturer in Political Science, Chicago University, "Japan in Southern Manchuria"; R. Ichinomiya, Manager of the New York branch of the Yokohama Specie Bank, "The Foreign Trade of Japan"; Masujiro Honda, Editor of the *Oriental Review*, "Japanese Diplomacy, Past and Present"; Kan-Ichi Asakawa, Assistant Professor Japanese Civilisation, Yale University, "Some of the Contributions of Feudal Japan to New Japan"; Adachi Kinnosuke, "New Literature of the New Japan."

Professor George H. Blakeslee originated these conferences, and in making up the list of men to be desired for the 1911 conference, a happy choice was made. Besides prominent Japanese in attendance, there were present American educators like Professor Albert Bushnell Hart, Professor of the Science of Government, Harvard University; Professor George Trumbull Ladd, Yale University; Dr. Ellsworth Huntingdon, Professor of Geography, Yale University; Professor Garrett Droppers, Professor of Political Economy, Williams College; Dr. William Elliot Griffis, formerly professor in the Imperial University, Tokyo; Professor Alexander F. Chamberlain, Professor of Anthropology, Clark University; George G. Wilson, Professor of International Law, Harvard University.

Professor Wilson's address on "The Family of Nations Idea and Japan" was a résumé of leading factors that had been instrumental in bringing about some sort of working basis for the advanced nations. He traced the various attempts to establish a close society of European states which should assume to itself the direction of affairs in matters which concerned

any considerable number of its members. Gradually, after 1648, the speaker said, such a family did develop, and assume for itself the right to determine what other states might be admitted to share the prerogatives which it claimed. The idea that the family was limited to states of Western Europe was enlarged with the admission of Russia under Peter the Great.

At this time [said Professor Wilson], membership was supposed to be based on Christian civilisation. The setting up of a state in America by the breaking of the United States from British rule offered a new problem in regard to membership in the family which was solved by the admission of the United States as the first non-European member of the family. The precedent established in the case of the United States made it easy for the Central and South American states to demand similar treatment. Thus the family group was enlarged by the accession of descendants of the European political stock.

A wide departure was made in 1856 when for political reasons Turkey was in form, though with many disabilities, admitted as the first state having a non-Christian civilisation. Even after this nominal admission of Turkey, that state was practically treated in the same manner as other Asiatic states which were considered as outside this fellowship which stood for family standards of international conduct.

Till 1854 Japan had been closed to European civilisation. Then a representative of the United States Navy, Commodore Perry, secured the opening of the door to Western nations. So great have been the achievements of Japan within the brief period since that time, that in 1894 most of the states already members of the family of nations made treaties with Japan which became fully operative in 1897, and placed Japan on full equality with any member of the international circle, however great the older member's

prestige or antiquity might be. For this the Japanese government made the most careful preparation by the issue of orders and instructions to officials, and by calling upon the patriotism of the people to show by their conduct their worthiness for membership which the Mikado himself recognises as one of the greatest steps in enhancing the prestige of the empire. Japan has thus attained to a distinction within fifty years which has been withheld from many states of much greater age, and of much closer affinity in language, customs, and religion. The distinction has been won on merit, and the proof that Japan is worthy of a place among the Great Powers has been given in the twentieth century achievements of this empire of the East.

The New England peace propaganda can consider itself fortunate in possessing the services of so distinguished a professor of international law as Professor Wilson. Harvard University is constantly asserting itself as a conciliation centre. As for the history-conferences at Clark University, they have become to the educational world what the Hague Conferences are meant to do for the governmental and diplomatic world. And since Japan will unquestionably play a considerable part in the next meeting at The Hague, it is gratifying to know that the Worcester gathering can conduce to a better understanding between the two nations concerned.

Coming back to Baron d'Estournelles, the French visitor addressed the students of Vassar College while on his way to the Lake Mohonk Conference on Arbitration. Contrary to what should be expected of the gentler sex, it has not infrequently been the case that woman has encouraged warfare. A false spirit of hero-worship of the man in uniform has often been turned to account by those whose interests ask

that international wars shall continue. There is a certain survival of the hereditary adulation accorded a war-successful chief in the minds of many unthinking women. The world, however, is ready for a reconsideration of what is in reality a savage state of mind. In preparing the extensive programme of Baron d'Estournelles, the American Association for International Conciliation reckoned with the woman factor. The cordial reception tendered the French visitor was illustrative of the fact that Vassar's contingent had begun to think seriously about the great issue that confronts the nation. Further than this, with woman suffrage bringing one State after another into alignment with national problems, be they of peace and progress or war and woe, it might be taken for granted that the young women preparing to enter life's real battle were glad of the opportunity to hear France's first arbitration citizen discuss the movement that is of such international moment.

Many people [said Baron d'Estournelles] speak of the feminist movement with the same high scorn that their fathers spoke about social reform, balloons of the dirigible type, and modern music, forty years ago.

But these scoffers will soon have to change their attitude. For to defend the cause of woman is to serve the cause of peace. Let us instance a case. A woman marries a man from some other land. Some unforeseen diplomatic complication makes her husband her enemy, or at the very least the enemy of her country and her kin. In such a case, will she be asked to-day, as she has been for centuries in the past, to stand at one side, unfeeling and powerless? No. She will cry out in protest. She will surely ask that international disputes be settled away from the battlefield, at least, and it is because woman's influence is constantly

spreading and this influence is constantly working secretly against war that the friends of the peace movement should care well for the interests of this valuable ally.

In America and the English colonies, the triumph of woman is complete. In a country peopled by immigration, the position of woman rises rapidly as the result of the spirit of liberty and of the full exercise of her responsibility.

Baron d'Estournelles spoke of woman in her relation to the literature of France. He showed how Corneille's genius had produced nothing more magnificent than Camilla.

Camilla [he said], was as much of a pacificist, of an anti-patriot, as it is possible to conceive, and she was born in the reign of Louis XIV. She is the child not merely of the genius of Corneille, but of the very heart of Humanity. As a daughter, a sister, a lover, a wife—in a word, as a woman—it is her mission, throughout the ages, when ignorance or statecraft sets men one against the other, to bring them together again.

No one has ever stated the case more clearly than Corneille. Where can one find a woman speaking more dangerously than Sabina as she realises the life and death struggle between the Horatii and the Curiatii, or words more violently anti-patriotic than those of Camilla! Hear how she cries out against the army, against the state, and remember that she paid with her life for her outbreak!

To-day Camilla lives elsewhere than in the theatre and in the memory. Her name is legion. Her enemies should be on their guard. It is particularly among women that the solidarity of which I have spoken can be felt, and Camilla's outcry is its living expression, no matter what her country may be. To-day Camilla's bitter words do not fall on the unlistening ear of the Court; they go straight to the heart of the people. They are recited by the children at school. Without one realises it, they pass from house to house.

They give pause, they enter into men's spirits, while the militarists of to-day think they are doing all that is necessary in silencing outbursts much less dangerous to their cause. No matter what her public attitude, every woman is now asking herself whether any reason of state can be worth the sacrifice of what she holds most dear in the world.

While the Vassar students followed Baron d'Estournelles with the closest attention, the speaker showed how the influence of woman is constantly widening, widening as is the influence of the common people, he said.

The influence of woman [said the French statesman], is unceasing, intangible, universal, like that of music, or of art, or of science. It is constantly working secretly against war, as Jeanne d'Arc years ago worked openly. Every autocratic government fears woman and her influence. No governmental tyranny, no policy of exploitation and conquest is conceivable in a country where woman is free and untrammelled, and hence the need of a policy of keeping her silently in the background, instead of giving her her opportunity! Up to the present the women have not been able—have not wished or have not known how—to organise themselves in their own defence. The time is coming when the march of events will bring the women squarely together. Far from being an anarchic element in our society, the influence of woman would prove to be its safety, as it is now the safety of the family.

Baron d'Estournelles is not alone in showing how the influence of woman in the campaign for peace is of far-reaching importance. It is a question if an assemblage like that which confronted him at Vassar College ever before heard the old truth uttered in the way that made the conciliation worker's speeches so effective.

It was a far different audience that listened to the

late David J. Brewer, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, when at Atlantic City, N. J., on June 12, 1909, the noted jurist addressed the New Jersey State Bar Association on "The Mission of the United States in the Cause of Peace." Justice Brewer was as one with his French arbitration colleague as regards woman and her influence. He said:

Among the great forces in our civilisation working for peace, more potent here in America than elsewhere in the world, is woman. I am not now speaking as champion or prophet of female suffrage. I note only the fact that the last half century has changed woman's position. She is no longer a purely home body, but has entered largely into public life. Whether voting or not, she has become an active and vigorous force in the national life. Her patriotism is as certain and as strong as that of her brother, and whenever the need comes, although she may not shoulder the musket or draw the sword, she does all that is possible to ameliorate the hardships of war.

The Red Cross is her work and her glory [Justice Brewer said], and the noble bands of women who are giving their time and strength to increasing, its efficiency and extending the reach of its influence are among the heroines of the nation. But while all this is true, you need no assurance that her voice is and always will be potent for peace. No mother nurses her baby boy and rears him to manhood without the dread that his life may in its prime be cut off by the merciless bullet. There never was a time since the beginning of days that woman longed for bloodshed or the carnage of war. And the more fully she realises its waste and destruction the more earnest will become her opposition.

With the eye of faith I see unrolled on the canvas of the future a glorious picture, in which shall be seen every labourer dwelling beneath his own vine and fig tree, receiving ever a living wage for his toil; every merchant and manu-

facturer pursuing his business and his industry without a thought of interruption by the ravages of war; and men of science and wealth combining in the achievement of more and more gigantic results, adding not merely to the necessities but also to the comforts and luxuries of life, taking possession of land and water and air, and all the forces to be found in them, and making them minister to human life. In the foreground will be seen that highest type of womanhood, the Madonna, and across her bosom will be these words: "Mary hath kept all these things, and hath pondered them in her heart."

Words like those of the late Justice Brewer are bound to live long after they have been spoken, or the speaker has passed beyond the ken of man. As for what woman herself has said about the influence of woman in war and peace, take Olive Schreiner, for instance, and see how the author of *The Story of an African Farm* views the situation. In her new book, *Woman and Labour*, Mrs. Schreiner puts the question squarely, and takes it upon herself to answer. It were well if every Vassar College girl who heard Baron d'Estournelles plead eloquently for the cause of peace would fortify herself still further by a perusal of a book that, strong meat as it may seem to some, is truth made living through words that burn themselves into the memory.

To-day [says Mrs Schreiner], we take all labour for our province, and more particularly in war do we intend to play our part. We have always borne the major part of the weight of war. It is not that in primitive times we suffered from the destruction of the homes we built; it is not that later as domestic labourers, we, in material loss and additional labour, paid as much as the male toward the cost of war; nor is it even because the spirit of resolution in its women and their willingness to endure, has, in all ages,

largely determined the fate of a race that goes to war, that we demand our controlling right where war is concerned. Our relation to war is far more intimate, personal.

Men have made swords or guns with which to destroy each other; we have in all ages produced, at an enormous cost, the primal munition of war. There is no battle-field on earth, howsoever covered with slain, which it has not cost the women of the race more in actual bloodshed and anguish to supply than it has cost the men who lie there. We pay the first cost on all human life.

In supplying the men for the carnage of a battle-field [says Mrs. Schreiner further], women have not merely lost actually more blood and gone through a more acute anguish and weariness than has been experienced by the men who cover it; but, in the long months of rearing that follow, the women of the race go through a long, patiently endured strain which no knapsacked soldier on his longest march has more than equalled; while, even in the matter of death, in all civilised societies, the probability that the average woman will die in child-birth is immeasurably greater than the probability that the average male will die in battle.

There is, perhaps, no woman who could look upon a battle-field but the thought would arise in her, "So many mothers' sons! So many months of weariness and pain while bones and muscles were shaped within; all this that men might lie with glazed eyeballs, and swollen faces and fixed blue unclosed mouths, and great limbs tossed—this that an acre of ground might be manured with human flesh that next year's grass or poppies or karoo bushes may spring up greener and redder!"

Women do not shrink from war because they lack courage. Nor will woman's influence militate against war because in the future woman will not be able physically to bear her part in it. The smaller size of her muscle, which might severely have disadvantaged her when war was conducted with a battle-axe or sword, would now little or not at all affect her. She might acquire the skill for guiding a Maxim,

or shooting down a foe with a Lee-Metford at 4000 yards, as ably as any male. It is not because of woman's cowardice, incapacity, nor her general superior virtue that she will end war when her voice is fully and clearly heard in the governance of states—it is because on this one point the knowledge of woman, simply as woman, is superior to that of man; she knows the history of human flesh; she knows its cost; he does not.

As for the manner in which woman will put a stop to war, Mrs. Schreiner makes this answer:

The day when the woman takes her place beside the man in the governance of the affairs of her race, will also be that day that heralds the death of war as means of arranging human differences. No tinsel of trumpets and flags ultimately seduce women into the insanity of recklessly destroying life. In a besieged city it might well happen that men in the streets might seize upon statues and hurl them in to stop breaches made in the ramparts by the enemy. One man, however, could not do this—the sculptor. He would seek to throw in even gold and silver before he sacrificed his works of art!

Men's bodies are our women's works of art. Given to us power to control, we will never carelessly throw them in to fill up the gaps in human relationships made by international greed. Arbitration and compensation would as naturally occur to woman as cheaper and simpler methods of bridging the gaps in national relationships, as to the sculptor it would occur to throw in anything rather than statuary.

It is worth noticing that in South America, where the peace propaganda has not been at work to any special extent, there has arisen one woman worker of remarkable force and efficiency. This woman is Señora de Costa through whose efforts the great peace statue of

Prof. G. H. Blakeslee,
Clark University, Worcester, Mass., Initiator History Conferences.
Photo by Purdy, Boston, Mass.

Mrs. Anna Sturges Duryea,
Lecturer for World Peace Foundation.

the Christ was erected on the Andes between Chile and Argentina in commemoration of the peaceful settlement of their long-standing boundary dispute. Señora de Costa is a vice-president of the American Peace Society. In her native city of Buenos Aires she has organised what is called the American Universal Peace Association, and many of the leading citizens of the place are members. There is a great field for work among the Central and South American republics, and while the Pan-American Union at Washington is doing yeoman service, the enlisting of the women of the respective countries in the cause would have the exact effect that Olive Schreiner outlines in her *Woman and Labour*. As President Taft wrote in the *Woman's Home Companion:* "The voice of the women of America should speak for peace."

At the Seventeenth Annual Conference on Arbitration at Lake Mohonk, where Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead was one of the few women speakers, this unceasingly active worker in the cause of peace made a deep impression by her address on "Women's Organisations a Latent Peace Force." Mrs. Mead said in effect, that, in the four years that remained before the holding of the next Hague Conference, the great organised bodies of American women ought to do a great propaganda work which should reach between twenty and thirty million people.

In the Federation of Women's Clubs [she said], there are 800,000 women. Last year, at their great biennial at Cincinnati, they passed a resolution encouraging the study of the peace idea. There are 100,000 women in the Council of Mothers and they have just passed a similar resolution. There are 325,000 women in the Women's Christian Temperance Union, which has a Peace Department. In the National Council of Women there are about fifteen national

organisations; one of them alone—the Women's Relief Corps—has 161,000 members, who are beginning to do a little in the peace movement. The so-called "patriotic societies" are beginning to look forward as well as backward and are amenable now to work of this kind.

Women are supposed to be the peaceful sex, and I believe they do hate war more than men do. But as a force for international peace they are negative unless they have specific instruction. They must be set to studying the economics of Professor Clark and to reading Norman Angell's *Great Illusion*. When Colonel Roosevelt declares that we cannot arbitrate questions of honour, women need to study the settlement of the Alabama Claims and other difficulties, and find that we have repeatedly settled questions of honour and vital interest by arbitration and other peaceful means. Women must be instructed in such questions, and when instructed they can be of very great service in informing their own busy husbands and brothers who may not have time to discuss international ethics, history, and politics.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE LAKE MOHONKERS AT WORK

Where Ideals Shape Themselves into Realities—The 1912 Conference Somewhat Disappointing to Those Who Had Been Enthusiastic over What Impended when the 1911 Conference Took Place—President Nicholas Murray Butler Hints at Political Influence in the Defeat of Arbitration Treaties—South America Sounds a Warning—What Baron d'Estournelles Had to Tell the Delegates to the 1911 Gathering—Benefactions of Albert K. Smiley—The Minister from Bolivia—Latin-American *Entente*—Oscar S. Straus—Persian Diplomat Defends His Country—The Carnegie Endowment Scope Defined by Dr. Butler and Dr. Scott.

IT is not difficult to picture what would have been the measure of enthusiasm among the delegates to the 1912 Lake Mohonk Conference on Arbitration in case the original peace treaties signed with Great Britain and France had been ratified by the United States Senate. As it was, when President Nicholas Murray Butler called the conference to order and the hundreds of guests of Albert K. Smiley, the founder of the conferences, made ready to begin their work, there was a sense of apprehension because the labours of 1911, and before, did not seem fully rewarded by the action of the Senate in minimising the scope of the treaties.

There is little doubt that few of the many conferences which have placed the Lake Mohonk gatherings in the forefront of American peace activities did more for the cause of international good-will than did the gathering of 1911. If the 1912 conference is to be singled out, it

must be because of the number of international leaders present. Such men as Dr. Christian L. Lange, of Christiania, Norway, the Secretary of the Interparliamentary Union; Dr. Albert Gobat, Director of the Berne Peace Bureau; Dr. Otfried Nippold, Professor of International Law in Berne University; Justice William Renwick Riddel, of Canada, and many others, were on hand to add their knowledge and their experience to the effectiveness of the conference.

As is usual in the case of Lake Mohonk meetings, the leading peace workers of the United States were present at the last conference. Dr. Butler, who for a number of years has presided at these annual gatherings, again wielded the gavel. He did not mince his words when, in his opening address, he referred to certain retrogressive elements to which he attributed the fact that the peace treaties had been shorn of their full strength. Dr. Butler said:

At the time of our gathering one year ago, it was natural and almost inevitable that a note of congratulation and happy augury should be sounded. All the signs both at home and abroad seemed propitious, and those who had laboured so long and so earnestly to promote the cause of international justice and international peace could reasonably feel that substantial progress toward the goal of their hopes had been made. To-day we meet in a somewhat different atmosphere. Many of us find ourselves troubled by doubts and harassed by disappointment. Within sixty days after the conference of 1911 had risen, two of the greatest, most powerful, most enlightened nations known to history were widely believed to be on the verge of armed conflict about something which nobody was able to understand or to explain. Nevertheless, the oft-predicted conflict did not take place. Strong, brave, enlightened men were at the helm of state, and they conducted their grave

business with so much discretion, with so much tact, and with so much genuine statesmanship, that the threatened danger was averted. Let us sincerely hope it was averted forever.

Dr. Butler had much to say about what he called the international mind and its need for further appropriation by the masses. He made pointed reference to certain political factors which, he claimed, had been responsible for the defeat of the treaties in the Senate.

> Most of all [he said], we must do our best to lift political discussion, both national and international, up out of the mire of personality and unseemly controversy between individuals and private interests, on to the high ground of principle. At the moment we are being ruled and represented by the noisy and well-organised majorities of minorities, and we are sliding backward every hour in political dignity and political wisdom. When the people as a whole grasp this fact, as they surely will, they will assert themselves with no uncertain voice, and our nation will once more put its feet in the path of progress.

Once the conference was under way, it was found that more had actually been gained of late, notwithstanding the seeming setbacks, than many of the delegates thought had been the case. There was an able Latin-American representation at Lake Mohonk. The principal spokesman for the republics south of the Rio Grande was J. P. Santamarina, of Buenos Aires, Argentina. Señor Santamarina showed how James G. Blaine conceived the idea of the Pan-American Union and how the work of the union has been carried on by able men. He cautioned the United States to do more for a friendly intercourse with the sister republics, and said

that the people of Latin America were closely watching the operation of the Monroe Doctrine.

With all the good work accomplished by the 1912 Lake Mohonk Conference, there was an atmosphere about the gathering of the year before which, as Dr. Butler frankly affirmed, inspired to a hopefulness that was unexampled in peace annals. Baron d'Estournelles was among those who helped to make the event momentous. After being introduced by President Butler, Baron d'Estournelles said that in his journey from East to West and back again he had learned much. He had found among other things how strong were the ties that bound the American nation to France.

Speaking of the work performed at The Hague, the French visitor asked that the criticism of that international court be not too exacting. He insisted, however, that only the best men possible should be sent as delegates to The Hague. He said that it was essential that the work should be advanced, but that there was also some danger in unduly hastening it.

> It is essential [he added], that the men who are sent to The Hague should not only be splendid jurists, but men who always accept the idea of a compromise, the idea of preventing war, of giving a solution which cannot only be understood from the legal point of view, but which is also highly satisfactory from the moral point of view. I find here a state of mind similar to that of the Hague Conference. This conference is really a university of high moral, international education.

If Baron d'Estournelles found the American public appreciative of what has been done in the furtherance of the peace cause, it can be said in all truth that the Lake Mohonk Conferences have been leading factors in

bringing the cause before the people. From the first session held at Albert K. Smiley's summer home at Mohonk Lake, on June 5, 1895, the educational purpose has at no time been lost sight of. More than this, to a surprising extent the conferences foreshadowed the leading peace events of the present. For instance, on Thursday, June 6, 1895, a committee consisting of Dr. Austin Abbott, Judge Robert Earl, and George S. Hale was appointed to go to Washington and urge the President to negotiate with Austria, England, France, Germany, and Russia, for the establishment of a permanent tribunal of the highest character to which could be submitted from time to time for arbitration questions arising between these powers.

The few simple words in which Mr. Smiley, in 1895, bid his guests welcome, and outlined his plans for annual arbitration conferences, deserve to be remembered by those interested in the cause to-day. He said that for many years he had wished to bring together such a conference, but had at first, by the advice of friends, set aside the plan in favour of the negro conference which for two years had met at Lake Mohonk. He now believed the time to have come, he said, when men of sound convictions, strong opinions, and a desire to do right should come together and discuss the subject of peace. He asked his guests that the discussion might not dwell too much on the horrors of war or take up the subject of "peace at all hazards," but turn to the consideration of the means by which the United States might have all her disputes with foreign countries settled by arbitration and bring other nations to join as rapidly as possible.

Now read the platform of the Seventeenth Annual Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration,

and see what has been accomplished in sixteen years. The platform is the official utterance of the principles upon which the members agree unanimously, and it says in part that the advances of the past year have been so signal as to make the year the most memorable in the history of international progress in the United States.

> The President of the United States [the platform reads], in his declaration favouring the reference to arbitration of every difference not settled by regular diplomacy, and in negotiating with Great Britain and France general arbitration treaties without reserve, has taken the highest and most advanced position. We call upon our people for such earnest co-operation and expression of public opinion as shall insure the execution of these treaties in such form that they shall not fall short in any degree of the public declarations of President Taft and of the just expectations that those declarations have aroused on both sides of the Atlantic; and we urge the offer of similar treaties to all nations ready to conclude them with us.

The platform further urged the public to work for a strengthening of sentiment that will lead to international peace. It also urged such comprehensive plans for the coming celebration of the centennial of peace between Great Britain and the United States as shall make the commemoration a notable landmark in progress not only for these two nations but for the family of nations. The conference commended the President and Congress because of the fact that a commission had been created to consider the pressing problem of the limitation of the armaments of the world. Attention is called to the fact that the Third Hague Conference is only two years distant, and after giving grateful recognition to the recent munificent provisions

for the promotion of peace by Andrew Carnegie and Edwin Ginn, the conference stated it welcomed the proposal submitted to Congress for a joint agreement by the nations of North and South America that in case of war between any of them no taking of territory from one by another shall be permitted as a result.

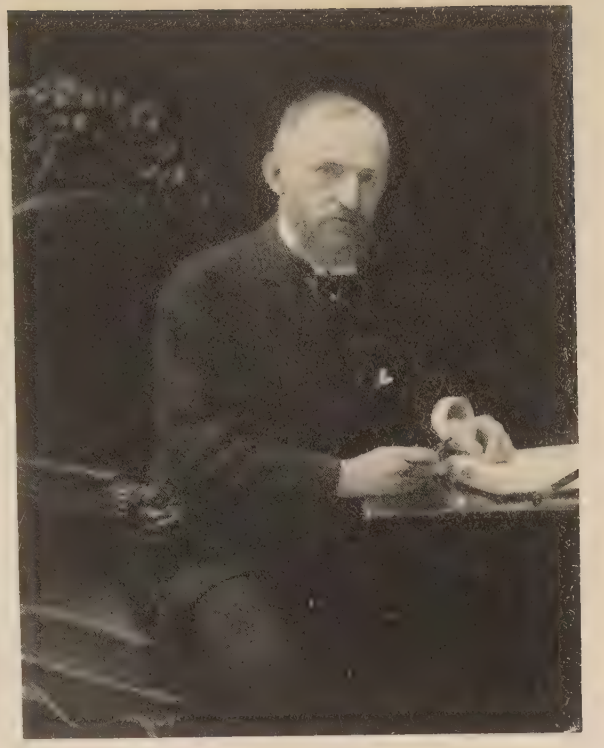
While all of the Lake Mohonk Conferences have had plentiful discussion of matters pertaining to the relations existing between Latin America and the United States, it appears as if the 1911 gathering was especially fortunate in its choice of representative men from the sister republics south of the Rio Grande. American internationalists are aware that much can be done to improve the relationship in question. In reviewing before the conference the events of the preceding year, Mr. Smiley showed how sixteen years ago, with much difficulty, he was able to bring fifty persons together to discuss international arbitration. The contrast between then and now was self-evident, since he addressed his remarks to a company of more than three hundred.

We should recognise more fully the part the nations to the south of us are taking in this movement [said Mr. Smiley]. We have much to learn from them, not the least of which is the lesson of the Central American Court of Justice. There in Central America is a real international court of justice for five nations, with compulsory jurisdiction over all their differences,—the first institution in the world which has sat in judgment upon nations! The Central American Peace Conference, which in 1907 created the Court, has during the year held its third annual meeting. This meeting, and the Fourth Pan-American Conference held in Buenos Aires last summer, give the American nations a worthy showing in the year's events. The recent averting, or at least the delaying, of a war just on the verge of

breaking out between Ecuador and Peru is a tribute not only to the power of mediation, as undertaken by Brazil, the Argentine Republic, and the United States, but to the amenability of our South American neighbours to the influences which in the Second Hague Conference they helped to strengthen.

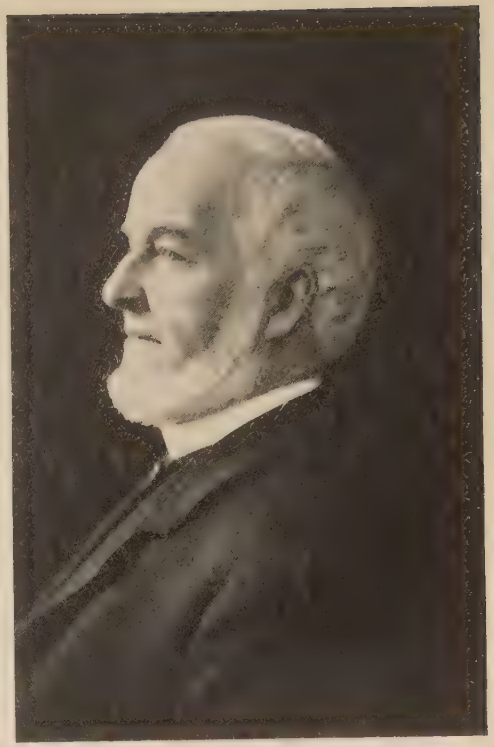
Mr. Smiley's pertinent reference to Latin-American arbitration activity made the delegates especially anxious to hear what Señor Don Ignacio Calderon, the minister from Bolivia to the United States, had to say upon the subject. Señor Calderon was no stranger to Lake Mohonk. In 1907, and again in 1909, the Bolivian minister was a guest of Mr. Smiley and a conference speaker. This prominent Latin-American has been an active force for peace in South America, and he has had much to do with the pacific intentions expressed within recent years among the nations south of Panama.

Señor Calderon has been in a position to see the peace movement grow, and in view of the epochal events making for unlimited arbitration between the English-speaking peoples, the conference awaited the address by this representative Bolivian with interest. He began by saying that when we look back into history it is not astonishing that there are so many people who seem to think it foolish to substitute arbitration for war. But Señor Calderon also pointed out how the advent of the *Mayflower* in the new world not only laid the foundation for the "greatest commonwealth that has ever existed in the world," as he put it, but how the "advanced political principles of the illustrious patriots that framed the admirable code of political wisdom called the Constitution of the United States found its most faithful exponent in the great and spotless charac-



Oscar S. Straus,

Former American Ambassador to Turkey, whose Address on Peace and Finance at Lake Mohonk Attracted Much Attention.



Albert K. Smiley,

Founder Lake Mohonk Peace Conferences.

Photo by Steckel, Los Angeles, Cal.

ter whom the poet called the Cincinnatus of the West, and his grateful citizens acclaimed 'first in peace, first in war, and first in the hearts of his countrymen.'"

One of the first steps in the international policy of this country [Señor Calderon declared impressively], was the famous declaration that there was not an inch of territory in the American continent subject to conquest, and that the independence acquired by the former Spanish colonies was to be respected, thus consecrating the whole Western hemisphere to peace and democracy.

The Latin-American republics were in full accord with this continental policy, and Bolivar, the Liberator of South America, was the first to call a Pan-American Congress, in Panama in 1825, to which the United States was invited. Since that time, several other international congresses have taken place in South America to discuss the means for promoting their common welfare. When the French invaded Mexico, Spain, following a prearranged plan, sent to the Pacific a fleet for the purpose of reconquering the old Colonies. But the republics of the west coast formed an alliance to defend themselves, and the Spanish fleet met with a crushing defeat before the walls of Callao in Peru and went back to the Philippines never to return on such an errand.

Continuing, Señor Calderon stated that with the opening of the Panama Canal a new commercial and political era would be ushered in and he emphasised that the isthmian enterprise was above all a peace work, notwithstanding the fact that some would have it that it was a strategic move in order to facilitate war movements against imaginary enemies. He insisted that the Panama Canal would not only bring the east and west coasts of America into closer touch, but that the whole world would find it a factor for peace, commerce, and civilisation.

The international session at the Lake Mohonk Conference saw among others in attendance the assistant director of the Pan-American Union, Dr. Francisco J. Yanes, a Venezuelan by birth and who has held many important appointments under his government. Dr. Yanes may be said to represent the Latin-American interests at the Washington institution of which John Barrett is the director-general. He has also made himself valuable to the United States Government by assisting the American commission in the Philippines. Dr. Yanes represented the Pan-American Union at the Pan-American Conference at Buenos Aires.

The assistant director of the union declared before the Lake Mohonk Conference that the Pan-American organisation represented the crystallisation of a noble ideal well worthy the co-operation of the men in the respective countries who had given concrete expression. He said that the subject which he had been asked to speak upon had already been discussed by a number of internationalists who knew their field thoroughly. He would try to inform the conference in respect to his particular domain.

Pan-Americanism and arbitration go hand in hand [Dr. Yanes stated]. Ever since the establishment of the Latin-American countries as free, sovereign states, arbitration has been urged and adopted in the settlement of their international disputes. Simon Bolivar, a Venezuelan, called the Washington of South America, as far-sighted and keen a statesman as he was a military genius, was the originator of the idea of holding the first congress of nations of America, in Panama, for the purpose, among other measures, of adopting arbitration as a principle of American international policy. Colombia, Central America, Mexico, and Peru, there signed a treaty of union providing among

other things the amicable compromise between themselves of differences then existing or which might arise in the future.

It would be impossible to conceive of a situation so abounding in danger and so liable to lead to war as the Latin-American boundary situation one hundred years ago. Almost every boundary was then undetermined for natural and historical causes, but yet, quietly and peacefully, without war, without bloodshed, these boundaries have for the most part been settled amicably, and in the spirit of modern progress, not under the reign of Terminus, but of the Christ of Peace that crowns the Andes.

The number of treaties containing arbitration clauses to which the American republics have been parties is 140, and the list of general arbitration treaties, concluded by our countries since the first Hague Conference, numbers forty. Where in all the world can the same be said? Have we not a right, then, to claim that we of Latin America are the leaders, the pioneers, and the principal adherents of this doctrine of arbitration, which seems to most of the world a new, strange, and untried doctrine?

Could there be found a better, a nobler example of allegiance to a principle than the erection of a statue of Christ on the loftiest peak of the Andes, on the boundary line between Argentine and Chile, as a pledge of brotherly love, as an eternal monument to arbitration? There at Uspallata, at an altitude of over 12,000 feet, there stands with arms outstretched, peace in his noble features, the Lover of Mankind, Christ the Redeemer, cast in bronze from the cannons of two sister republics which averted war over a territorial dispute by recourse to arbitration.

It should be added that the effort to prevent hostilities was powerfully supported by Dr. Marcolino Benavente, Bishop of San Juan de Cuyo, Argentina, and Dr. Ramon Angel Jara, Bishop of San Carlos de Ancud, Chile. On Easter Sunday, 1900, Bishop Benavente

made a fervent appeal in behalf of peace, and proposed that some day a statue of Christ should be placed on the Andean border between the two countries, where it might be seen by all and prevent, if possible, any recurrence of animosity and strife between the two republics. The two bishops then travelled through their countries addressing crowds in cities and villages. After arbitration had been arranged, Señora de Costa took the initiative in the erection of the statue, and the unveiling ceremonies took place March 13, 1904. The base of the statue is of granite. The figure of Christ is of bronze, and is twenty-six feet in height. On the granite base are two bronze tablets, one of them given by the Workingmen's Union of Buenos Aires, the other by the Working Women. One of them gives the record of the creation and erection of the statue; on the other are inscribed the following words: "Sooner shall these mountains crumble into dust than Argentines and Chileans break the peace to which they have pledged themselves at the feet of Christ the Redeemer."

Having heard from those intimately connected with Latin America by virtue of national ties, the Lake Mohonk Conference was no less anxious to hear what one who had served the United States for ten years as minister to Chile and Peru had to say about the sister republics to the south. The address of John Hicks concerned itself chiefly with diplomatic matters pertaining to the fact that the Latin-Americans might in some respect be justified if they were somewhat suspicious of the great Northern republic. The speaker took pains in showing that it behoved Americans to meet their fellow-men of the Southern continent half way, and that nothing but candour would meet the issue squarely.

Our Latin-American friends [said Mr. Hicks] are too polite and too circumspect publicly or frequently to make known their fears or to say much that will shock the prejudices of their North American neighbours, but the fact is that the black spectre that is always before them is the dread of the great republic of the North. From Mexico, Central America, and Cuba in the North to Venezuela, Uruguay, Argentina, and Chile on the South, there is the same nameless feeling of apprehension that their political life is always in danger, that it is only a question of time when the United States will deprive them of their political existence.

They are intensely patriotic. Every intelligent citizen of a Latin-American republic loves his country and is proud of his country's history. The history of the diplomatic relations between the United States and the Latin-American republics in the past fifty years will show that the fears of these people are not entirely groundless. A century of independence has developed a class of diplomats in the Latin-American republics who possess talents of a very high order, and at least two of them have written text books on the law of nations which have been accepted by the great powers of the world. It is not only humiliating to them, but a most egregious blunder on our part, to treat with them, as if we were superior to all law and they were recognised only to receive our commands.

It was remarked upon at the 1911 Lake Mohonk Conference that at no time has a more representative body of men assembled anywhere for the purpose of discussing world issues. The presiding officer was Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, of Columbia University. It was at Lake Mohonk that Dr. Butler revealed the plans of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. James Brown Scott, secretary of the endowment, was also a speaker before the conference.

Circumstances would have it that two men intimately familiar with countries that since figured conspicuously in the news of the world were in attendance at the Lake Mohonk Conference. And the addresses of both Oscar S. Straus, thrice American minister to Turkey, and of Mirza Ali Kuli Khan, Charge d'Affaires of the Persian Legation at Washington, when interpreted in the light of succeeding events mean much. It is because the conferences at Mohonk Lake constitute a modern Forum that their value to internationalism is so great. In the case of Mr. Straus, his discussion of "American Commercial Diplomacy" was an exposition of factors that, in the opinion of this trained diplomat, made a clear distinction between the diplomacy of commerce and the dollar diplomacy. Mr. Straus showed that American diplomacy, in its aim and purpose, from the beginning was commercial as distinguished from political, and this purpose, in its very nature, he said, gave to it the character of sincerity and straightforwardness.

Mr. Straus' friendliness to the country where he represented the United States on three different occasions was shown in a most conclusive manner when Italy and Turkey went to war. The former American representative at the Porte was very outspoken when the Italian government sent its Tripoli ultimatum to Turkey. The American peace movement has never had an advocate more fervent than Mr. Straus, and it was in line with his well-known arbitration principles that he telegraphed Secretary of State Knox, September 29th, as follows:

The approaching clash of arms between Italy and Turkey far transcends the interests of the two powers involved.

The consequence of Italy's precipitate action cannot but have the most serious results as a precedent for similar aggressions by other powers.

The United States took the lead in freeing the Mediterranean from the Barbary pirates, and likewise has contributed foremost among the nations in the conclusion of the convention for the pacific settlement of international disputes. Our country is not only justified, but it is its duty to exercise its rights under the convention to preserve the precedents for peace and prevent a possible state of war between the Mohammedan and the Christian nations of the world.

We are fortunately free from alliances, such as apparently tie the hands of European powers, who shall, and probably will, welcome our exercising the right of mediation which the dictates of humanity impose upon us as a people and as a nation, and which the terms of the Hague Convention give us the international mandate to exercise. I am sure I am voicing the peace-loving sentiment not only of America, but of all nations, in calling upon our government to promptly offer its office of mediation which is our right, and which the convention expressly provides shall not be regarded as an unfriendly act. Whatever rights, politically or otherwise, Italy may justly lay claim to in Tripoli, either for her own subjects or in the interest of civilisation, certainly can be secured without bloodshed and with justice by subjecting them to the Hague Tribunal.

Although the government did not view the situation in the same light as did Mr. Straus, it may be taken for an assured fact that the administration listened attentively to what came from so noteworthy a source as the former ambassador to Turkey. After the war had progressed for some weeks, Mr. Straus, at a meeting of the Board of Directors of the New York Peace Society at the home of Andrew Carnegie, suggested that resolu-

tions be passed and presented to the Italian government as follows:

Resolved, that the New York Peace Society cannot refrain from expressing its surprise and regret that Italy, the ancient seat of empire over the civilised world, and hitherto the beloved of nations, has recently presented an ultimatum to Turkey and precipitated war, in disregard of the spirit and provisions of the Hague Treaty, to which Italy is a party.

Resolved, that we earnestly beseech Italy to reconsider her action, and appeal to the Hague Tribunal, with a view to the speedy and peaceful settlement of all questions between Turkey and herself.

Resolved, that this society assures Italy that such action would be hailed with joy by all parties in this republic as indisputable proof of her determination to adhere strictly to her obligations under the Hague Treaty and to maintain untarnished the reputation she has hitherto enjoyed as worthy successor to the unequalled heritage of the past which she has been called upon to preserve for the benefit of mankind.

Later, in the October 14th issue of the *Outlook*, Mr. Straus, under the caption, "Tripoli—A Case for Mediation," showed how Turkey, immediately before and since the hostilities began, had appealed to the nations who with her were signatories to the Hague Conference. Previously to Mr. Straus's article, Zia Pasha, the Turkish Ambassador to the United States, expressed himself as follows:

For the President of the United States to act as mediator in the dispute between Turkey and Italy would be to fill a magnificent rôle and prove a great practical step in international peace making. I appreciate the difference between this war and the sanguinary struggle between Japan and

Russia, terminated through the intervention of President Roosevelt, and rather foresee that the present outbreak will be so circumscribed in its action and presumably so brief in duration that no mediation would be necessary.

In consideration of the fact that a number of young men from Turkey were admitted as students in Columbia University through the instrumentality of a committee of which Mr. Straus is a member, after Dr. Samuel T. Dutton had visited Constantinople and arranged for the coming of the young men, it can be seen that the New York Peace Society is especially interested in seeing peace restored between the Porte and Italy. The committee which has been appointed to look after the special students consists of Mr. Straus, Dr. Dutton, Horace E. Deming, James S. Dennis, John Hays Hammond, Frederick Hirth, Mary Mills Patrick, William Adams Brown, Emma G. Sebring, Anna Garlin Spencer.

One year after the Straus resolution had been adopted by the New York Peace Society, and the Italian Government had been appealed to, the curious war between the two countries was still on. Rumors were, it is true, emanating from Paris, from Berlin, from London, that peace negotiations were under way. Undoubtedly, Italy would have been glad enough to have discontinued its further conquest of northern Africa providing Tripoli could be left in its possession. On the other hand, Turkey's domestic affairs were in such a shape that the nation saw no way to lower its flag of protest.

The Powers, without a doubt, wished to put a stop to a war that threatened to spread beyond the involved area. Strong representations, of the kind that Mr. Straus desired the American Government to make at the outbreak of hostilities, could have accomplished

much. It is to be regretted that one of the greatest opportunities for assuring belligerents that some other way than war should be found to settle international difficulties was neglected because no nation seemed equal to the task.

Coming back to Lake Mohonk, it is not likely that Mirza Ali Kuli Khan, the Persian Charge d'Affaires, anticipated at the time he delivered his address at Lake Mohonk that not many months later his government would be in a position where the principles of right and justice would be at stake in so far as it concerned his native country. Russia's contention that the employment by Persia of W. M. Shuster as the treasurer-general of the country was not agreeable to the Czar's government was met in a dignified manner by the Teheran officials. The young American had proven his worth to Persia. That the Persian-American Educational Society, at the ordering of the Russian advance, sent fervent appeals to President Taft, the Senate and House of Representatives, and Andrew Carnegie, emphasises the fact that the desire for international mediation appeared to the Persians as the only solution of the problem.

Whatever part Mr. Shuster may have played in the events that led up to the Russian ultimatum asking for his discharge as treasurer-general, there is an evident desire in the Shah's domain to fall in line with modernism, politically and educationally. The hundreds who listened to the Persian representative's address at Lake Mohonk in the light of subsequent events can now read between the lines of what Mirza Khan had to say about "The Conditions of Universal Peace." Employing considerable Oriental imagery in his talk to the conference, he said that to-day the world is so expanded in

Capt. L. H. Pillsbury,
President Derry, New Hampshire Peace Society.
Photo by Purdy, Boston, Mass.

George L. Crossman,
President Maine Peace Society.
From a photograph.

its views that statesmen no longer consider a philosophical truth a foe to a practical fact. The wise man to-day, he said, does not associate the idea of world peace with a beautiful but empty dream. Speaking of the scoffers and critics who could find nothing but theory in arbitration propositions, Mirza Khan argued that the lovers of peace should pass them by in patience. They should remind them of the fact that while for 6000 years all human civilisation and organisation of human activities were built upon the foundation of might, it is not the work of a day to substitute the foundation of right and justice in the regulation of human affairs.

It is to the credit of the American nation [said the Persian statesman] that it is foremost in the race for securing international comity. The very Constitution and form of government of the United States are among the best examples to be followed by those who dream of a federation of the world; while the Supreme Court is the best judicial body to stand as model for the creation of a world court of arbitral justice.

Another American example in proving to the world that nations are capable of being brought into closer contact for the promotion of certain uniform plans is the creation of the Pan-American Bureau at Washington. This stroke of American statesmanship is a living testimony of the fact that even racial, religious, and climatic differences cannot oppose the principle of human solidarity.

The peace movement should organise a mobile body of investigators to travel throughout the world [and here the Persian official's words assume pointed significance] to look into the grievances of the weaker nations and to report on the actual facts with fairness. This would prevent the voice of the oppressed from being drowned in the uproar of the stronger who coins logic to justify his oppression of the weak. Such complaints of the weak should be allowed to

reach the ear of the world peace movement. They should not be passed with indifference, or mistaken for an expression of local discontent. To involve nations in war no cause is too insignificant, and history recalls many wars started from trivial causes emanating from unimportant localities. To safeguard the rights and interests of the weaker nations is to preserve the balance of power, upon which depends the peace of the world.

There are still men who look upon certain other nations as incapable of absorbing the civilisation of the West. Such men ridicule all attempts to credit the weaker nations with the ability to accomplish what their own nation did in the beginning of its history.

It is, of course, not possible to give more than an outline of what occurred at the Lake Mohonk Conference of 1911. At the same time, it is pertinent to quote from the addresses of both Dr. Butler and Dr. Scott since these bear so directly upon all matters now before the arbitration world. The President of Columbia University said in part:

Never before has the mind of the world been so occupied with the problems of substituting law for war, peace with righteousness for triumph after slaughter. It begins to look as if the stone of Sisyphus that has so often been rolled with toil and tribulation almost to the top of the hill, only to break loose and roll again to the bottom, is now in a fair way to be carried quite to the summit. The long years of patient argument and exhortation and of painstaking instruction of public opinion in this and other countries are bearing fruit in full measure.

We have now reached a point where, unparalleled enthusiasm having been aroused for a rational and orderly development of civilisation through the various nations of the earth, it remains to clinch that enthusiasm and to trans-

form it into established policy by proving to all men that militarism does not pay and that peace is profitable. Fortunately, by reason of the great benefaction of Mr. Carnegie, the world now has in its possession a powerful engine for the accomplishment of exactly this end. The establishment of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace marks an epoch, in that it furnishes the organisation and the means for a sustained and systematic effort to reach and to convince the public opinion of the world by scientific argument and exposition.

The trustees of the endowment have taken a broad and statesmanlike view of its aims and purposes. While they do not overlook the value of the work of propaganda and intend to aid in carrying it on, they believe that the time has come when the resources of modern scientific method and of modern scholarship should be brought to bear upon the problem of international relations. They believe that the leading jurists and economists of the world should be set at work in the service of humanity to ascertain just what have been and are the legal and economic incidents of war, and just what are the legal and economic advantages to follow upon the organisation of the world into a single group of friendly and co-operating nations bound together by the tie of a judicial system resting upon the moral consciousness of mankind, from whose findings there can be no successful appeal.

Dr. Butler explained how the work would be divided, and he gave the facts relating to the various divisions.

The division of International Law [he said] will be under the direction of Professor James Brown Scott, whose services at the Department of State, at the Second Hague Conference, and in connection with the American Society, and Journal of International Law are too well known to need specific enumeration. To the perfecting and clarifying of the fundamental conception of international justice,

this division will assidiously devote itself. For this purpose the endowment will associate with Dr. Scott a consultative board composed of some of the most distinguished international lawyers in the world.

In the case of Dr. Scott himself, at the Lake Mohonk Conference this eminent internationalist, as the executive secretary of the $10,000,000 peace endowment, laid before the assemblage a summary statement of what phases of the world question needed the most pressing attention. It was, of course, expected that Dr. Scott would present his facts in that lucid manner that has characterised him since the day when he first became a figure in international law affairs. Whether as university professor, as the American delegate and expert in international law at The Hague in 1907, as counsel for the United States in the North Atlantic Fisheries arbitration in 1910, or as editor-in-chief of the *American Journal of International Law*, the former solicitor of the State Department has shown himself so thoroughly at home in his domain that his statements of whatever kind always command attention.

Dr. Scott grouped his statements under a number of headings and said in substance:

The peace movement has been largely negative, although there has been for some time past a minority of constructive minds actively engaged; war has been denounced as an evil, as something morally wrong, as brutal, cruel, wasteful, and totally unsuited to decide the right or wrong of the matter in dispute. This method is good so far as it goes; but it does not go far enough.

The peace movement is necessarily based on these contentions, and they are largely admitted by open-minded and impartial students. It must, however, be pre-eminently constructive instead of negative, i[illegible] it is not enough to know

the evil—we must discover and apply the remedy. In the contest in which we are engaged, the views of our opponents must be taken seriously and met by argument. We must approach the question with all seriousness and cannot hope to overcome sincere conviction by ridicule and laughter. I have in mind particularly the view so ably advanced by Von Moltke and his school that war promotes courage and the manly virtues and that it is necessary in the inscrutable providence of God. We must treat seriously those who believe, such as the German Emperor—and there are many who share the view—that peace can only be maintained at the price of armament and preparedness for war. We must find the unknown substitute for the God of War, and the substitute must be so reasonable as to make its rejection unreasonable.

We are justified in believing that the growth between nations will not be different from the growth within nations. Municipal institutions which have stood the test of time and have produced equilibrium—that is, law and order—may and should be projected beyond national lines and modified in the light of international conditions so as to meet international needs.

Private arbitrations and public arbitrations are, in origin and result, identical. In 1899, the First Hague Conference created a permanent panel of judges, the so-called permanent court, from which the litigating nations could choose judges to form a temporary tribunal for the settlement of the dispute. Again the analogy between international and municipal growth is perfect. The Second Hague Conference created an international Prize Court to be composed of permanent judges in order to pass upon and to decide the lawfulness or unlawfulness of a seizure and capture of neutral property in war. The Court is not definitely organised at The Hague, but thirty-four nations have pledged themselves to its establishment. The Second Hague Conference likewise endeavoured to take the final step in the development of arbitration, approved the project to estab-

lish a permanent court of arbitral justice to be composed of permanent judges, and adopted a draft convention of thirty-five articles regulating the organisation, jurisdiction, and procedure of such a court, leaving it to the nations to determine the method of selecting the judges. We therefore see that, just as private arbitration resulted in a national court, public arbitration is developing into an international court.

Self-redress, that is to say, war, still exists, just as the duel and private war were recognised and regulated by municipal law. In the struggle with self-redress, the national court triumphed, and unless analogy fails, the international court will emerge the victor from the contest. History is with us. Upon the model of national agencies we are building international institutions. International justice is slowly taking form and shape. The international Prize Court and the international Court of Justice will by their mere existence attract cases, for gravitation is judicial as well as physical.

CHAPTER XXV

THE CHURCH SEES ITS DUTY

At Lake Mohonk All Denominations Come Together for the Great Purpose—Kaiser William's Pastor on the German Peace Lord—The British Contingent and the *Entente* with the Clergy of Germany——The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ—A Strong Resolution—Bishop Greer as the Foe of Militarism—Unanimous Sentiment for Arbitration among the Churches—President Taft at the Salt Lake City Temple—Preaching Peace from Many Pulpits—A Peace Prayer for 150,000,000 English-Speaking People—Movement Endorsed by Denominational Conferences—Rev. Dr. Charles E. Jefferson and his Literary Propaganda.

THE Lake Mohonk Conferences of 1911 will unquestionably be remembered for one thing at least—the large number of clergymen from Europe and the United States who by their presence and through addresses emphasised how much the Church was concerned in the movement for world peace. The opportunity was especially propitious for bringing England and Germany together by way of a conference that obliterated national differentiation.

That the clergy of Great Britain has been working for international arbitration for some time was brought out strongly during the negotiations for a treaty of unlimited scope, but it was not so generally known that on the Continent, particularly in Germany, the new movement had also obtained a strong hold among the ministers of the Gospel.

Germany was represented in the conference by Dr.

F. Siegmund-Schultz, pastor of the Friedenskirche in Potsdam, where Emperor William and the royal household attend. From England came Rev. Dr. John Clifford, Pastor of the Westbourn Park Church in London and President of the Baptist World Alliance; Very Rev. W. Moore Ede, Dean of Worcester, and J. Allen Baker, Member of Parliament and the prime mover in the Anglo-German Associated Councils of Churches of which he is chairman of the Executive Committee. As for Canada, Rev. William Sparling, Pastor of St. James Methodist Church of Montreal, was the representative from the Dominion.

In the case of Dr. Siegmund-Schultze, special interest centred in him because of the conflicting reports as to whether William II. was the war lord that he had been designated, or a friend of world peace. As a matter of fact, in an interview aboard the *Kronprinzessin Cecilie*, when the steamer arrived at New York, the German minister put at rest all rumours regarding the Emperor's warlike proclivities.

I saw the Kaiser before I started [said Dr. Siegmund-Schultze then], and had a long talk with him. He told me he took a great deal of interest in the movement for international peace. As a special mission to America the Kaiser asked me to learn how the Church could best serve the peace movement, and to find out if there is use for a committee of representative German clergyman of different denominations to be sent to America next year to meet with American clergymen regarding world peace.

Dr. Siegmund-Schultze is the secretary of the German branch of the Anglo-German Associated Churches for the promotion of peace. In his Mohonk address, he referred to the fact that the church of which he is the

pastor is not only called the Peace Church (Friedenskirche) but that the aim of its founder, King William IV of Prussia, was the peace of nations. It was this monarch who wrote, said the speaker, seventy years ago in a letter to a friend: "It must be demanded of the government that it will never agree to enter into war." And added the German pastor, it was his last successor, the present Kaiser, who, following in his ancestor's footsteps, and in the same Guildhall of London which had been the scene of the great 1911 peace demonstration, said: "My aim is, above all, the maintenance of peace."

Dr. Siegmund-Schultze said further that in Germany the peace movement was as yet in its infancy. He showed how the most dangerous point of Germany's foreign relations during 1910 was her relation to Great Britain. But the practical work for peace, originated in England but followed up heartily by some of the leading churchmen of Germany, culminated in the Associated Councils. The speaker said that the Kaiser himself had on many occasions shown his deepest sympathy for the peace work of the churches in Germany.

It was Andrew Carnegie who said once that the German Emperor is decidedly in favour of the peace movement. Mr. Carnegie emphasised that William II was above all a peace lord, and not a war lord. He said that whatever impressions exist to the contrary are based on ignorance of the Emperor's true nature. Those who are intimate with him know it was he who resisted the military spirit within his own nation during the controversy over Morocco. Baron d'Estournelles, who is no less a French patriot than he is a peace apostle, on several occasions expressed himself to the same effect while in America.

In an impassioned address, Reverend John Clifford told the Lake Mohonk Conference how the league between the churches of Great Britain and Germany sprang into being. He said that it was in 1907 that J. Allen Baker came to his house. Mr. Baker was then the chairman of the Metropolitan Council of Free Churches. The visitor explained that he had a great concern about something which he wanted to talk over with Reverend Clifford.

> With wonderful tact, with a beautiful disposition, with marvellous wisdom [said the speaker], he threaded his way through the difficulties and intricacies of solving the problem of bringing the churches of Germany and Great Britain together—it was done and it is one of the wonders of the times.

When J. Allen Baker followed with a description of how organisation was effected, the conference was intensely interested. He also spoke of the great meeting in Guildhall where the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Westminster, and the Chief Rabbi Dr. Adler were among the speakers. As chairman of the Executive Committee of the Anglo-German Associated Councils of Churches for the promotion of peace and good-will, Mr. Baker said he spoke nevertheless as a layman, but he added that it was a most remarkable fact that for the first time in German history, as he understood the situation, the Lutheran and Non-Conformist and Roman Catholics in that country had joined hands in any movement and this was to pay the English churchmen a visit. As far as he knew, Mr. Baker said, it was the first time that the representatives of all Christian bodies in one country had visited their brethren in another land for the express

Harry E. Hunt,
President Great Lakes International Arbitration Society, Detroit, Mich.

Dr. Charles E. Jefferson,
Broadway Tabernacle, New York. Well-known Speaker on International Affairs.
Photo by Phelps, N. Y.

object of furthering good-will and friendship between their two peoples.

The work of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America in furtherance of arbitration was explained through the report of the secretary of the Council, Reverend E. B. Sanford, of New York. Reverend Sanford assured the conference that the churches concerned were ready to co-operate with those of Great Britain and Germany in order to foster international amity.

Reverend Junius B. Remensnyder, pastor of the St. James Lutheran Church, New York, told what had been accomplished by the committee of clergymen formed at the Lake Mohonk Conference of 1910. Dr. Remensnyder said that a public meeting of the several ministerial associations of Greater New York was called, and that on November 7th of that year there gathered in the Marble Collegiate Church what was considered to be the largest and most enthusiastic assemblage of clergymen ever brought together on Manhattan Island. At this meeting resolutions were passed to the effect that the assembled clergy called upon "all of the Christian ministry and laity of the United States to use their utmost efforts to develop a sentiment in favour of the cessation of war, which shall make itself felt by our lawmakers and representatives and contribute to the hastening of the era of universal peace."

Speaking for the Clerical Committee of the Lake Mohonk Conference, Dr. Remensnyder presented the declaration of the committee as follows:

Resolved, That the Christian Church, by reason of its message of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man, and in view of its history in the overthrow of giant

wrongs and the uplift and progress of the race, should be foremost in the blessed work of the establishment of peace.

Resolved, That we note, with profound gratitude to Almighty God, the signs everywhere breaking forth of a mighty awakening of Christians to their positive duty in this respect,—which is a bright message of universal peace.

Resolved, That we hail, as a practical outcome of this fact, the prospective treaty between England and the United States, submitting all questions of honour or otherwise, to arbitration, which we trust will be the harbinger of similar action between the Christian nations of all the earth. Then will dawn the Golden Age foretold in holy writ: "And they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks: nation shall not lift sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

This declaration was signed by the members of the committee as follows: Junius B. Remensnyder, David H. Greer, David J. Burrell, Charles F. Jefferson, Newell Dwight Hillis, Charles H. Parkhurst.

Of the members of the committee, besides Dr. Remensnyder, only Reverend Dr. Charles E. Jefferson was in attendance during the 1911 Lake Mohonk Conference. Dr. Jefferson is not only one of the most valued but one of the militant clergymen on whom arbitration can count at any time. It was left for the pastor of the Broadway Congregational Tabernacle to express the gratitude which the more than three hundred guests of Mr. Smiley felt toward him.

The literature of the peace movement has found in Dr. Jefferson one of its leading lights. His *Delusion of Militarism* is considered a remarkable exposé of military misconceptions. This article first appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly*. Republished by the American Association for International Conciliation in March, 1909,

it was given wide circulation. Dr. Jefferson's "Some Fallacies of Militarism," published in *The Independent* in 1908, as well as his address delivered at the one hundredth anniversary of the American Board, in Tremont Temple, Boston, October 12, 1910, were also sent broadcast by the American Peace Society.

The Church Peace League, of which Rev. Frederick Lynch has been made the executive head, is closely allied with the Anglo-German Associated Councils of Churches. When Baron Edouard de Neufville, the German philanthropist, was in the United States during this year, this indefatigable peace advocate worked toward bringing about a closer union between churchmen. There is on foot a movement for a World Church Peace League, and a plan is being considered for calling a great conference of the churches of England, Germany, and America in advance of the next Hague meeting.

No more militant foe to militarism exists in America than Bishop David H. Greer, of the Protestant Episcopal diocese of New York. In a full-page interview in the New York *Herald* of June 18, 1911, Bishop Greer placed himself on record in no mistakable terms.

Bishop Greer was asked what would happen if the United States reduced its armament; how the nation could defend itself against aggression.

The Bishop replied that the country could trust to the influence of public opinion. On the other hand, he said, the effect upon other nations would be compelling. Some nation should adopt this new policy, take the initiative, and run the risk.

This country by its position is well fitted to undertake this work [he said]. Separated by the ocean from the older

nations whose boundaries are marked only by imaginary lines, it would be freer from complications than any other. There are in other lands traditional policies which make the situation more complex and dominate it. Furthermore, the United States has become a world power. It is universally respected and it exerts everywhere a great influence. Whatever advance step in the interest of peace it would take would have a far-reaching effect. I think that this land should not fail to recognise its opportunity and that it should not fall into line with other and older nations in adopting or pursuing the policy of increasing its armaments.

You think that any proposals for peace made from Washington would be received with favour by other powers? [was the question next asked Bishop Greer].

I think [the Bishop replied], that the reception given to proposals for national arbitration on all questions made by this country indicates that what it would have to say with regard to the bringing about of universal peace would command respect and attention in every part of the globe. The interest and enthusiasm which were aroused in England by the proposals of an arbitration treaty between this country and Great Britain were evidenced by the meeting in the Guildhall and the sanction of the King and Mr. Asquith and Mr. Balfour.

And what risks would this country incur [Bishop Greer was asked by the *Herald* representative], in adopting the ways of peace?

Such risks [came his response], as one would expect to encounter in experimenting in a new direction. Yet nothing is accomplished in this world except by men who are willing to take chances. And we should at this period in our national existence be willing to try. The hour is at hand. How this is to be done is a question for Congress to decide after a careful study of the situation.

The case of Bishop Greer is complete as concerns this clergyman's attitude touching war or peace. His

example must be an inspiration to those of his fellow-workers who realise that the cause of peace has a right to look to the pulpit for co-operation since the morals of the nations are at stake in every instance where diplomacy fails to strike a satisfactory balance in international disputes.

There is no denying that the churches in America are rallying to the arbitration standard unfurled by the government. It has been said now and again that denominational activity has not always been sufficiently marked in the direction of universal peace. Be that as it may, the year 1911 saw churches of every shade of religious belief in alignment with the peace societies. Early during the year, the visit of Baron d'Estournelles made this emphatic when the French statesman was asked to speak from the leading pulpits of the country. Later, when President Taft made his impressive swing around the country, his arbitration talks found no greater and more effective response anywhere than among the religious leaders in the various cities visited. When in Salt Lake City, the chief executive had for his audience in the great Tabernacle a thousand aged pioneers who had come from many parts of Utah to hear him speak about the benefit of peace. It was in the same place of worship that Baron d'Estournelles a few months before had made his eloquent arbitration plea in the presence of a gathering that included every leading religious faith in the United States.

Scarcely a religious convention in the United States during the year but what resolutions endorsing the administration's effort to obtain arbitration treaties with Great Britain and France found the heartiest endorsement. Take the twenty-fifth annual convention of the Christian Endeavour Societies, held at

Atlantic City, where 8000 delegates applauded President Clark's address in which he spoke about the duty of the organisation to work for the fellowship of the world. So, too, the National Universalists Convention, at Springfield, Mass., revealed a unanimous sentiment that led to the sending of a telegram to President Taft in approval of his peace efforts. At Sparta, Wis., on September 18th, the West Wisconsin Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church adopted resolutions which in unmistakable terms showed how this denomination viewed the great question of the day. As might have been expected, the Twenty-fourth National Conference of the Unitarian Church, which took place at Washington, D. C., made international peace a conspicuous feature of its programme with the President a member of the denomination. The delegates to the Northfield Conference to the number of 3000 at the beginning of the sessions offered thanks that arbitration treaties with two great powers had been signed. When the Ecumenical Methodist Conference met at Toronto, Canada, Alderman Snape, of Liverpool, England, declared that the act of President Taft in bringing forward the peace proposal between England and America was one of the most courageous and magnificent attempts ever made by any statesman in the history of the world. Speaking on the subject, Dr. J. Scott Lidgett, of London, Editor of the *Methodist Times*, said that the time is coming when everything which relates to the welfare of mankind will be considered by tribunals of peace and adjustment. He asked that the churches create a league for universal peace. The resolution passed by the conference favouring the administration's efforts was signed by the president of the conference, Reverend Henry Haigh, of

Newcastle-on-Tyne, England; Justice McLean of Toronto, Bishop Cranston of Washington, Bishop Wilson of Baltimore, and Bishop Hendrix of Kansas City.

As instancing the interest which the clergymen of New York City are taking in arbitration, it is worth recording that in St. James Episcopal Church, at Trinity Church, at the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, at Temple Beth-El, at St. James Lutheran Church, and in other churches, the service on a given Sunday concerned the world-wide subject of international peace. Chancellor Elmer Ellsworth Brown, of New York University, occupied the pulpit of St. James Episcopal Church. Chancellor Brown said that in the short time that he had followed the Lake Mohonk Conferences he thought he could see clear signs how the changes more and more in that body and elsewhere have turned on practicable methods for gaining international justice without international bloodshed.

Rabbi Samuel Schulman's sermon at Temple Beth-El turned on the practicability of the peace treaties, and he did not entirely see that their promulgation would assure lasting peace. At the same time, he believed they were steps in the right direction. That he was in complete sympathy with the movement, however, was made apparent when Dr. Schulman, at St. Paul, at the convention of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, helped to pass a resolution favouring international arbitration. In the same way, Rabbi Charles Fleischer, at his first pulpit appearance in Boston after his resignation from Temple Israel, while speaking in the Second Universalist Church on "Universalism," pointed out how universalism meant universal peace, and he said that peace on earth must come and will come despite the organised hatefulness of nations who

vainly profess a God of love. He declared that peace must come because brotherhood and universalism will make impossible the "mutual murder of war."

As for co-operation between the churches in America and abroad, the meeting arranged by the Federation of Churches in the Metropolitan Life Building Hall, New York, brought together one thousand prominent clergymen to listen to an address by Reverend Dr. John Clifford of England, whose appearance before the Lake Mohonk Conference has already been touched upon. Rev. Frederick Lynch offered resolutions which were adopted by a rising vote, and read:

Resolved, that we urge the churches of the United States to use their utmost influence toward moulding a public opinion which will uphold the President and the State department in negotiating treaties that shall bind the contracting nations to arbitrate all differences which cannot be settled by diplomacy both with Great Britain and France, as now proposed, and with all other nations which may become willing to enter into such agreement with our government.

Resolved further, that the ministers of New York City express the hope that the United States Senate will promptly ratify the arbitration treaties with Great Britain and France when the same shall be submitted to them, and that these resolutions be transmitted to the President and to the Honorary Elihu Root and the Honorary James A. O'Gorman, Senators from the State of New York.

In seconding the resolutions, Reverend Dr. Stephen S. Wise, of the Free Synagogue, New York, made a stirring speech in which he urged a campaign in the name of religion which should so arouse the American people that the Senate would see the public desire and act accordingly. Using epigrams freely, Dr. Wise said

that the feudal baron's axiom, "My spear knows no brother," should be changed to read, "My brother knows no spear." He said further:

> War is a violation of the law of God. But put it all on a basis that any man can understand, namely, we have no time for war. We have too much else to do. We must put an end to poverty, to crime, to injustice. The churches to lead? Why, if they cannot lead in such a cause they have no business to lead in anything.

A religious sentiment that inspires brotherliness must certainly be acceptable in whatever movement and it is for this reason that the suggestion of Senator Root may find ready response within the two nations concerned in the celebration of the centenary of peace between Great Britain and the United States. The suggestion was made, at the time when Mayor Gaynor of New York appointed a committee of one hundred prominent citizens to arrange for New York's participation, that at a given moment the 150,000,000 English-speaking people throughout the world should cease from their labour and for the space of five minutes engage in silent prayer and contemplation. This would be a magnificent tribute to the peace cause and the desire to usher in the brotherhood of man at an early day.

It is a fact that those interested in the Lake Mohonk conferences, the officers and members of the American Peace Society, the World Peace Foundation, and kindred organisations throughout this country and Great Britain, are at work preparing programmes that will measure up to the significance of the Anglo-Saxon event to be commemorated—a century of uninterrupted peace. Cannot the churches of whatever denominations well

afford to have it said of them that their influence proved a powerful stimulus for educating the public to a realisation of the importance of international amity? The movement means the ultimate deliverance from a bondage which in the case of nations has enchained soul and body.

It is among the working classes both here and abroad that the mission of the Church in behalf of peace can find a splendid field in which to labour. Two great English preachers, Dr. R. J. Campbell and Dr. C. Silvester Horne, have told American audiences how it is for the masses to say the word and wars will cease for ever. Again at the great Baptist World Alliance Conference, held in Philadelphia, in June, 1911, with representatives from all over the world in attendance, the following statement was adopted by acclamation:

This Baptist World Alliance, representing 8,000,000 and more of Baptists all over the earth, expresses its thankfulness to God for the brightening prospects of the extinction of war and the arrival of universal peace and good-will.

The Alliance places on record its profound gratitude to the President of the United States for the proposal of unlimited arbitration in all international disputes, and for his repeated and sustained efforts to get that proposal accepted not only by England, but by other countries also.

The Alliance is also grateful for the cordial and enthusiastic welcome given to that proposal by the British cabinet and parliament irrespective of party, and by the representatives of Germany and France, and trusts that nothing will be wanting to establish at an early date, a permanent arbitral court for the settlement of all questions amongst nations which cannot be disposed of by the ordinary methods of diplomacy.

Further, the Alliance, recognising that it is the duty of

the subjects of the Prince of Peace to lead in such specific work, rejoices in the response made by our churches all over the world to these endeavours, and urges them to continue to pray for peace, to check everything in the press and in national life calculated to cause strife among the nations, to protest against the extension of the war field into the air, and to promote in every way possible the spirit of brotherhood and love.

In the same way, the Japan Mission of the American Board, at its thirty-ninth annual meeting adopted a resolution which points clearly to the great need of the age. After expressing the conviction that the peoples of the United States and Japan have great regard for each other, the resolution says that

we rejoice in the growing peace movement in Japan, and in the increasing evidences of a calm judicial spirit among its leaders, a spirit which refuses to exaggerate slight offences, to countenance a narrow nationalism, or to regard exceptional unfriendly utterances of individuals as indicating the spirit of the American people.

We rejoice [the resolution says further] in the suggestion of an unlimited arbitration treaty between the United States and Japan, and hope that nothing may be allowed to stand in the way of the framing and ratification of such a compact. We urge upon the Carnegie Peace Fund, and upon others who have at heart the maintenance of peace, that suitable provisions be made for the transmission of accurate and trustworthy news regarding international questions.

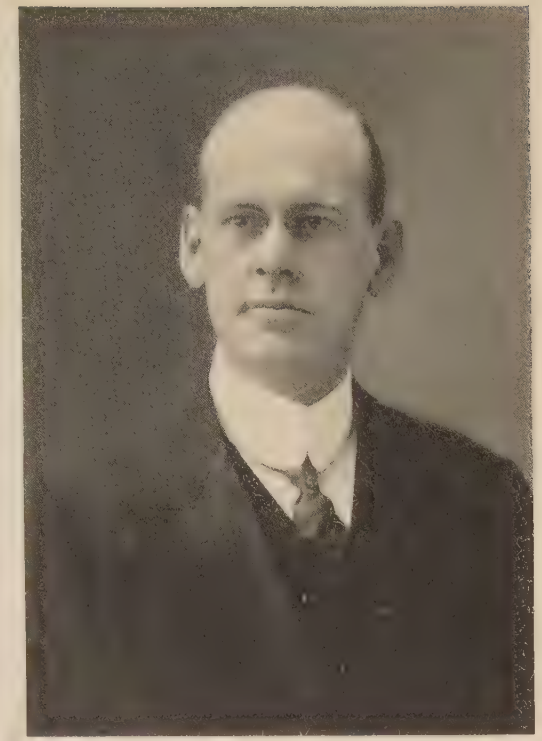
In the New York *Evening Post* of December 9, 1911, under the heading of "For World-Wide Peace," there appeared the following:

That the United States should take a leading part in bringing about peace among the nations is the opinion of the

leaders in religious life. These men see the advantage that would be gained by the adoption of the arbitration treaties arranged by President Taft, and urge in the strongest manner that these treaties should be made effective by the Senate as quickly as possible.

There followed statements by a number of well-known clergymen on the general subject of a lasting world peace and the part of the churches in bringing it about.

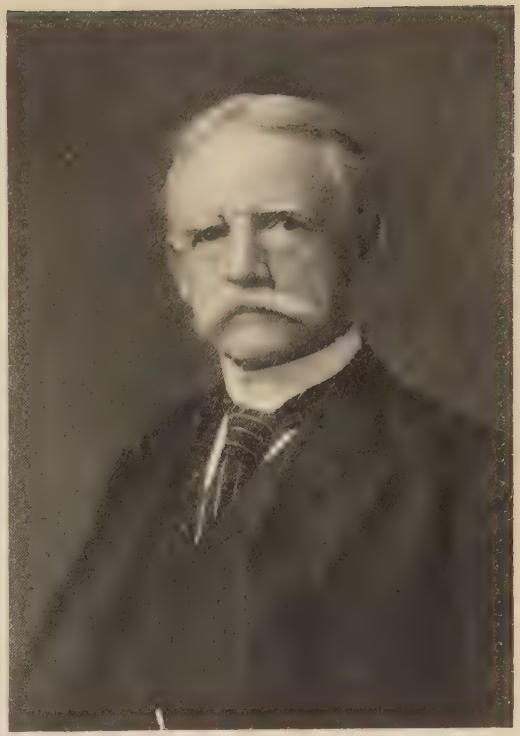
The *Post* gave brief statements, which occupied an entire page, by the following clergymen: Right Reverend Daniel S. Tuttle, Protestant Episcopal Bishop, Missouri; Right Reverend William A. Quayle, Methodist Episcopal Bishop, Omaha; Right Reverend David H. Greer, Episcopal Bishop of New York; Right Reverend William Croswell Doane, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Albany; Right Reverend Frederick Burgess, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Long Island; Reverend Dr. W. H. P. Faunce, President of Brown University; Reverend Dr. John Henry Jowett, Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church; Reverend Dr. Charles Reynolds Brown, Dean of Yale Divinity School; Reverend Dr. Charles Lewis Slattery, Grace Episcopal Church, New York; Reverend Dr. Charles L. Goodell, Calvary Methodist Episcopal Church, New York; Reverend Dr. Henry A. Stimson, Manhattan Congregational Church, New York; Reverend Dr. S. Parkes Cadman, Central Congregational Church, Brooklyn; Reverend Dr. Robert Collyer, Church of the Messiah, New York; Reverend Dr. Henry Evertson Cobb, West End Collegiate Church, New York; Dr. Stephen S. Wise, of the Free Synagogue; Reverend Dr. George P. Eckman, St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church, New York; Rev-



President Ernest Fox Nichols,

Dartmouth College. President New Hampshire Peace Society.

Photo by Purdy, Boston, Mass.



Samuel J. Elder,

American Counsel in the Fisheries Disputes.

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erend Dr. Frank Oliver Hall, Church of the Divine Fraternity, New York; Reverend Dr. William T. Manning, Trinity Church, New York; Reverend Dr. J. B. Remensnyder, President of the American Peace Commission of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America; Reverend Dr. Frank M. Goodchild, Central Baptist Church, New York; Reverend Dr. M. H. Harris, Temple Israel, of Harlem; Reverend Dr. Cortland Myers, Tremont Temple, Boston; Reverend Dr. St. Clair Hester, Church of the Messiah, Brooklyn; Reverend Dr. N. McGee Waters, Tompkins Avenue Congregational Church, Brooklyn.

Here is an aggregation of names formidable enough to impress the layman with the encouraging fact that the leading churchmen in the nation stand squarely for peaceful settlements of international disputes.

The light will some day become so intense [says Reverend Dr. Charles E. Jefferson in his *Missions and International Peace*], that the Christian Church will be able to see what is her duty. Who knows but what some day a National Council may find its tongue and dare say something on this great question—the very greatest question in all the world!

Not many months have passed since this hope was held out by the pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle, but already signs are multiplying which show that the clergy of the country is not afraid to speak its mind. The light of internationalism is breaking over all the earth and it will yet be said that the church is leading where no other human agency for the uplifting of the nations can do it more effectually.

CHAPTER XXVI

ANGLO-AMERICAN PEACE CENTENNIAL

Buffalo and Detroit Active in Coming Event—The Great Lakes International Arbitration Society—Buffalo Peace Society—Premier Borden on Relations between Dominion and United States—The International Joint Boundary Commission and its Object—A Canadian Chief Justice at Lake Mohonk—Novel Suggestions for Centenary Celebration—Dr. James L. Tryon's Campaign in Canada—What the Dominion Press is Doing for the Cause—Dr. James A. Macdonald and his Work at Home and Elsewhere—Life Insurance and International Amity—The Visit of the Duke of Connaught a Harbinger of Promise—Honourable Mackenzie King as Cabinet Officer and World Factor—Reciprocal Feeling between Ottawa and Washington.

NO part of the United States is more interested in the coming celebration in commemoration of the one hundred years of peace between this country and Great Britain than the Lake cities of Buffalo and Detroit. The peace organisations have outlined tentative programmes for the event. In the meantime, the Lake country societies are working zealously to foster international good-will.

Under the joint auspices of the Chamber of Commerce and the Manufacturers' Club and the Buffalo Peace and Arbitration Society, a meeting was held early during the present year in the Star Theatre at which the arbitration treaties were endorsed. The Buffalo Chamber of Commerce and the Manufacturers' Club also tendered Baron d'Estournelles a luncheon

on May 27th of last year. In the evening the Baron addressed the members of the Twentieth Century Club, which is the leading women's club of Buffalo. A general invitation had been extended to the friends of the peace movement. Special interest attached to the presence of Baron d'Estournelles in Buffalo since it was his final lecturing place in America.

The Buffalo Peace and Arbitration Society was organised in May, 1909. The society carries on a campaign of education with a view of showing what the money expended in militarism could be used for in other directions and to the advantage of the nation. The schools, the churches, the literary societies, the commercial organisations are appealed to persistently. The newspapers of Buffalo have generously opened their columns to arbitration news. The society is especially active in making ready for the centenary celebration on the Niagara frontier.

The officers of the Buffalo Peace and Arbitration Society are as follows: President, John B. Olmstead; secretary, Frank F. Williams; treasurer, John G. Eppendorff. The executive committee consists further of Francis Almy, chairman; Walter L. Brown, Henry P. Emerson, J. N. Larned. There are thirty-eight vice-presidents, including some of the leading men of the city.

There has been formed in Buffalo the Hundred-Years' Peace Society many members of which are prominent in the peace organisation. The permanent executive secretary is George D. Emerson. A woman's executive board has been created with Mrs. John Miller Horton at its head. Mrs. Horton is especially well fitted for her task. The broad philanthropy of her father, the late Pascal Paoli Pratt, she has continued

with striking results. The regent of the Buffalo Chapter, National Society Daughters of the Revolution, Mrs. Horton brought to her peace activity the same enthusiasm and executive ability that has marked her connection with the patriotic organisation. She was one of two women who addressed the International Peace Congress when it met in Stockholm, Sweden, in 1910. Secretary Emerson has opened headquarters in Buffalo while a committee in Toronto looks after the Canadian interests in the coming celebration. For a considerable distance on both sides of the frontier the other cities and towns are preparing to participate fittingly in the Anglo-American event.

Speaking of the celebration *The Outlook*, in the issue of July 22, 1911, says among other things:

Doubtless the various events of the War of 1812, and its close will be commemorated in several ways and places; monuments on the Canadian frontier and at the scenes of famous battles and observances at New Orleans are among the plans in view. But as to the large objects to be attained under guidance of this committee, aided by private subscription and perhaps by Federal and State legislation and appropriation, two things should be brought about: a permanent national monument of which we may be proud, and a celebration at the appropriate time by the peoples of Great Britain and the United States. Public sentiment both here and in Canada would, we believe, approve of the erection of a Peace Memorial Bridge near Niagara Falls as the permanent monument.

Such a bridge should be built on simple lines [*The Outlook* editorial continues], suited to the idea it must express of the tie of friendship and lasting peace between the two peoples whose territories it unites. No other plan for a permanent memorial seems to *The Outlook* to equal this in appropriateness and feasibility.

As for such a memorial bridge, Detroit comes to the front with the claim that if a national monument there shall be, this prominent city on Lake Erie is entitled to consideration. The Great Lakes International Arbitration Society in collaboration with the newspapers of Detroit have begun a campaign to that effect and a friendly rivalry is now on between the cities interested.

That the citizens of Detroit are firm adherents of President Taft's peace policy was demonstrated during the President's visit to that city while making his extensive tour of the country. A huge banner at the entrance of Highland Park proclaimed "Welcome President Taft—Reciprocity and World-Wide Peace."

Another incident of note took place when the Western governors on their trip to the East reached Detroit on Thanksgiving Day. In different churches and at a mass meeting in one of the theatres some of the governors spoke in favour of ratification of the treaties. Governor Eberhart of Minnesota and Governor Bourke of North Dakota were especially urgent in their appeals. The Thanksgiving Day incident proved a notable chapter in the peace history of Michigan and the organised movement within the state received a new impetus through the advent of the Western visitors.

In the short time of its existence the Great Lakes International Arbitration Society has proved a consequential factor for world peace. To show how even three years ago the country at large looked with a sort of indifference on peace activity it is only necessary to mention that when Harry E. Hunt, of Detroit, at that time solicited financial aid for carrying out his arbitration plans he met with slight encouragement. Undaunted, however, Mr. Hunt went to work on his individual account. It then transpired that in another

quarter the movement for peace had been ably championed by Mrs. Helen P. Jenkins who with the assistance of her friend, Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead, of Boston, had established a society for the promotion of world amity. The late Mrs. Lillian M. Hollister, as president of the National Council of Women, had also laboured in the identical direction. The three forces now combined into the Great Lakes International Arbitration Society. The society has taken for its particular territory all the states and provinces bordering or anywhere touching upon the Great Lakes or their tributaries. Membership, however, is not confined to this field.

The Great Lakes International Arbitration Society has a motto which is prosaic, to say the least, namely, "Get Together and Hustle." Harry E. Hunt is the president, Miss Ruby M. Zahn is secretary, and William J. Warren treasurer. There is a board of trustees composed of Mr. Hunt, Howard B. Salot, and Paul E. Switzer. Some of the vice-presidents are Jerome Internocia, author of *The New International Code*, Montreal, Canada; Kiyo Sue Inui, Detroit; Reverend B. H. Hills, Traverse City, Mich.; Mrs. Flo. Jamison Miller, Secretary National Council of Women, Wilmington, Ill.; Mrs. Julia Kurtz, Superintendent The Martha Washington Home, Wauwatosa, Wis.

The Great Lakes Society is nothing if not unique in its presentation of facts and the literature it distributes. The publicity department is in charge of an experienced newspaper man, Paul E. Switzer. Part of the society's propaganda work was the sending of the young Japanese, Kiyo S. Inui, on a tour around the world. A graduate of the University of Michigan, Mr. Inui had previously to his world tour made a similar tour of the United States under the auspices of the American

Peace Society. While in London, he told interviewers that Japan at that time was watching what the United States and Great Britain would do with the arbitration treaties in order to fall into line immediately the treaties were ratified. There is no doubt that in taking the international idea from country to country Mr. Inui was doing a service to the nation which gave him his education and the land of his birth as well.

There are certain features of the work of the Michigan peace organisation which stamp it as unique. In the first place, it becomes incumbent upon the members to take an active interest in the affairs of the society. Mere lookers-on are apparently not wanted. The members are not only requested to secure publication in their local newspapers of such peace literature as may be sent them from time to time. They are expected to write at least once a year a brochure or story dealing with the question of internationalism in its broadest application. If such a thing as peace detective work exists then the Great Lakes International Arbitration Society is entitled to recognition on that score. The members are asked to keep an eye on industrial and commercial enterprises for the purpose of finding out whether their interests run parallel with the armament advocates. Whatever is learned has to be reported forthwith to the President who acts according to the value of the information received.

Speaking of the occasion for the Great Lakes International Arbitration Society, President Hunt says:

> All men are interested in making a living. Most men desire to better their conditions, but, in seeking to attain that goal, push the other fellow down. Some men are spending their time bettering conditions of society, to

increase opportunities so that all may progress hand in hand. That is what the "Great Lakes" society is doing.

As the time for the Anglo-American peace celebration draws near interest in all that gives rise to the celebration grows apace. In many respects the Great Lakes figure prominently in the event to be commemorated by the British people and Americans. In London an organisation has been perfected to work in conjunction with the American National Committee. Earl Grey, ex-Governor-General of Canada, was elected president. According to plans formulated the celebration will be held during the years 1914, 1915, and 1916. The United States, England, and Canada will be the scenes of the festivities.

I trust that the anniversary of 100 years of peace will be commemorated in the two countries with a deep and solemn sense of national responsibility and that each will accept its destiny under the splendid inspiration of enduring and increasing friendship and good-will.

These were the words of Robert L. Borden, the new Premier of Canada, who, then elected to the high office of the Dominion, at a dinner tendered him by the Conservatives of Halifax, Nova Scotia, in a speech laid stress upon the necessity of mutual understanding and co-operation.

Canada is an autonomous nation within the British empire [he said], and is closely and inseparably united to that empire by ties of kinship, of sentiment, and of fealty, by historic association and tradition, by the character of its institutions and by the free will of its people. By the like ties of kinship, by constant social and commercial intercourse, by proximity and mutual respect and good-will, this country is closely associated with the United States.

Similar sentiments were expressed by the Canadian guests of honour at the dinner of the Canadian Club of New York, November 13, 1911. Here, to, members of the Dominion Parliament and the Minister of Trade and Commerce in the new cabinet at Ottawa, spoke on the relationship existing between their own nation and the United States. Andrew Carnegie was among the speakers and he was followed by George E. Foster, the Minister of Trade and Commerce, who said:

I agree with the peace ideas which we have just heard; peace between the two peoples who dominate the North American continent. It would be a great thing if these peoples would not only preserve peace between themselves but would also unite to force peace upon the rest of the world. I believe with Mr. Taft and Mr. Asquith that the best way to keep peace is to have the power to enforce it. Gradually we may come to the day of unarmed peace. Mr. Carnegie and men like him are doing giants' service to bring it about.

As it was the first time that a member of Premier Borden's cabinet had made an explanation of the anti-reciprocity sentiment to a United States audience Mr. Foster was listened to with great interest.

Perhaps the most conspicuous recent gathering in the Dominion for the purpose of arranging a tentative programme for the centenary celebration was the meeting held in the House of Commons, Ottawa, in June, when Sir Edmund Walker presided at the organisation of the Canadian Peace Centenary Association. A resolution was moved and adopted that the association join with the kindred organisation in Great Britain for the purpose of a fitting celebration.

Honourable T. W. White, Canadian Minister of Fi-

nance, in seconding the resolution made a stirring address in which he recounted the unique event ahead for the English-speaking people.

It will be a great occasion [he said], although I am happy to say that one year later Great Britain and France will be able to celebrate a like occasion. One hundred years of peace between two great nations is certainly a striking event in the history of the world. Philosophically or rationally speaking one would assume that peace should be the natural condition of mankind, but the lesson of the past is all to the contrary. The history of civilisation is largely the history of war and the history of the great nations one of almost incessant strife.

This celebration should do much to impress not only the people of the United States and Great Britain but of the whole world with the advantages of peace. I hope the celebration will take the visible form of a memorial which will proclaim for all time that two great nations lived in peace and harmony for a period of one hundred years—and let us hope for all time—without a gun upon a rampart or a gunboat upon a river or lake along three thousand five hundred miles of frontier in the most friendly and neighbourly feeling of amity and mutual respect and with no rivalry except in the enterprises of commerce and all the beneficent arts of peace.

Included in the general committee are some of the most noted men of Canada. Sir William Mulock, Mr. Justice Riddell, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Honourable Mackenzie King are among those who have consented to serve on the committee. The movement for a joint celebration that shall convey a lesson to the world has the assurance of success by virtue of the popular desire of Canada to do its utmost in the premises.

Even as the general arbitration treaty between the

United States and Great Britain aimed at closer relationship between the two powers, the recently organised International Joint Boundary Commission for the adjudication of questions of issue between this country and the Dominion promises much for the neighbouring nations. In the case of the commission, in fact, there is this to be said that it has already got down to work. Early in the new year the members met in Washington. The chairman of the American section is former Congressman James A. Tawney, of Minnesota. The commission has already been alluded to in the press as a peacemaker of the first order and this is brought home the stronger when it is recalled that Mr. Tawney is one of the most active forces in the United States for the promotion of arbitration.

The address of Mr. Tawney pointedly showed what was expected of the joint commission.

> The work of promoting closer and more direct relations between the two great peoples on this continent [he said] peoples who have the same language, come from the same race, have the same common fountain of law, the same traditions, and similar institutions of governments, is in fact the work of blazing the trail for the judicial settlement of all disputes where they occur between any two great nations. As members of the commission we are, therefore, neither Canadians nor Americans, but we are each and all representatives of all the people on both sides of our international boundary line. We have a great responsibility resting upon us to shape our work so as to vitalise the international powers conferred by the treaty, realise the hopes and aspirations of the two peoples here living under law and the destinies of two nations that now dominate the richest land on the globe.

Replying to the chairman of the American section,

Chase Casgrain, of Montreal, the chairman of the Canadian section, said that "the Canadian members of the international joint commission desire to express their warm appreciation of the frank and clear statement made by Mr. Tawney."

The people of Canada [Mr. Casgrain said], are largely composed of two races, the French and the English, with different languages and to a large extent different systems of law, but they are firmly united in their adherence to the crown, and with the rest of the empire they desire that the most amicable relations should forever exist between the high contracting parties whose interest we jointly represent.

For this reason, and because the French Canadians feel that they represent a vital element of the activity within the Dominion, the recent and cumulative interest in the peace movement in the United States aroused widespread comment in Canada. The visits of distinguished foreigners have been followed in detail. The Canadian press had been especially active in the matter of informing its readers what was going on in the world of peace.

At the Lake Mohonk Conference of 1911, Sir William Mulock, Chief Justice of the High Court of Justice for the Province of Ontario, presented a graphic picture of Canada's readiness to participate in the celebration of the century of peace. Sir William Mulock said:

One speaker yesterday, I think it was Dr. Northrop, sanguinely stated that there was no question as to the state of public opinion in the United States upon this peace question; that work, he declared, was completed and the energy of the peace workers should be directed to formulating distinctive policies to be carried into execution. If that

is the happy state of opinion in the United States—perhaps it is somewhat overstated—but if it is even approaching that condition, then I venture to suggest that if the masses of the people make known to their executive in Washington their desire to give the world an object lesson on the benefits of peace by having a centennial celebration, the executive will doubtless respond. And if the executive of the United States should send overtures to the Canadian Government, although I do not speak for the Canadian people,—I am now but one of the citizens of that country—I do think I can with all confidence state that the Canadian sentiment would echo yours and that the Canadian government would join with your government in giving the world an object lesson in the blessings that have come to the two most prosperous nations of the earth because of the enjoyment of one hundred years of unbroken peace.

What form such a celebration might take, I do not know [the Chief Justice continued]. It might properly take many forms. For example, some years ago in the harbour that welcomes strangers arriving at the gates of New York you erected that great tower, holding up the torch of liberty to the incomer. What a delightful companion picture would be presented if an international committee should induce the two nations to set apart some common land or reservation where there could be erected in the path of the traveller from all the world a temple devoted to the evidences of the past and an educational institution to teach to commerce what this Western world has accomplished by the observance of the laws of peace.

It was entirely fitting that following Chief Justice Mulock, Andrew B. Humphrey, the secretary of the National Committee for the Celebration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of Peace among English-speaking Peoples, should inform the Conference as to the plans outlined. Mr. Humphrey told how the

various sub-committees were formulating their respective plans and he then presented a number of suggestions for the celebration some of which were as follows:

That the anniversary of the signing of the treaty of Ghent, December 24, 1814, be celebrated in Ghent, and also in the churches, schools, societies, organisations, clubs, legislative bodies, and Parliaments throughout the English-speaking world.

That the Christmas holiday season of 1914 be made an American-English home-coming period throughout the world, to celebrate family reunions and kindred ties as well as international reunion.

That American-English peace monuments be erected at Ghent and along the United States-Canadian border, and such other locations in the English-speaking world as may be selected and approved by cities and peoples interested.

That a memorial history be written under the joint authorship of a representative Englishman and a representative American, with monographs by experts, on special subjects.

That a permanent Joint High Commission be established to promote and perpetuate friendly relations between the United States and Canada.

That a World Statue of Peace be erected in New York harbour on a new artificial island southwest of Governor's Island and facing the Statue of Liberty so that both "Liberty and Fraternity" may welcome the nations and peoples, "at the cross roads" of the world's peaceful intercourse, and that the twenty million school children in the United States be the builders of this mute but eloquent appeal of humanity to humanity.

That a permanent Peace Temple and Library be

erected in New York City to be used as an international Peace League Clearing House for the intelligent, economic, and patriotic promotion of peace, international hospitality, and the peaceful arts and sciences.

It was further suggested that the celebration might properly conclude with an International Peace Conference, opening in New York and ending at the Panama Exposition in San Francisco in 1915, concentrating the peace sentiment of the world upon the specific accomplishments desired through the Third Hague Peace Conference, which will probably be in session by that time. As for the border celebration, Dr. Trueblood, secretary of the American Peace Society, had suggested a great merchant marine parade from Buffalo to Duluth and return with celebrations in the border cities and towns. Mr. Humphrey also referred to the Canadian tour of Dr. James L. Tryon, secretary of the Massachusetts Peace Society, who had visited many parts of the Dominion, speaking in churches, before commercial organisations, and in general taking the message of American good-will across the frontier.

In the *Morning Chronicle*, of Halifax, Nova Scotia, of March 3, 1911, there appeared under the heading, "Canada is Called to Lead the Nations in the Path of Peace," a long account dealing with Dr. Tryon's visit to the province. It was a splendid tribute to the fraternal feeling which exists between the neighbouring countries. The energetic propagandist from this side the Canadian frontier had dwelt particularly on the coming peace century and the *Morning Chronicle* enthusiastically backed Dr. Tryon in his missionary work relative to the participation of the Dominion. But the American peace advocate had also much to say about the next Hague Conference and here, likewise, he met

with a cordial acceptance of his suggestion that Great Britain should be foremost when the world gathered for the purpose of discussing the peaceful settlement of international disputes.

The entire Canadian press hailed Dr. Tryon's visit as something making for closer friendship and in the universities, churches, schools, and clubs where he spoke his audiences listened with the closest attention. Toronto, in particular, arose to the occasion and this was the more natural since here are the headquarters of the Canadian Peace Society. The president of the society is Sir William Mulock, Chief Justice of Toronto, and the secretary is Reverend Dr. C. S. Eby. Among the leading men of Ontario who have spoken and written on the peace movement is Justice William Renwick Riddell, whose paper on American-Canadian relations, read at the conference of the American Society for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes held in Washington in December, 1910, was considered one of the most important papers of the occasion. During the commencement exercises at Syracuse University, New York, in the summer of 1911, Justice Riddell delivered an oration before the graduates and here again the Canadian jurist took occasion to bring home the importance of the present movement for arbitration.

It is difficult to conceive of a more praiseworthy effort set forth on behalf of the press in the interest of the peace movement than that which the Canadian newspaper world is evidencing. In Toronto, for instance, the papers are unanimous in endorsing the arbitration treaty between the United States and Great Britain. J. S. Willison, of the Toronto *News*, in an article circulated in large quantities by the American Association for International Conciliation, has drawn

Hon. W. W. Mackenzie King,
Leading Canadian Arbitration Worker and Conspicuous in One Hundred Year Peace Celebration.

Premier Robert L. Borden, Canada,
Who Takes a Leading Part in the Coming Centenary Celebration between the United States and Great Britain.
Photo by Notman, Boston.

attention to the unifying principles governing both nations considered under the caption of "The United States and Canada."

It is Canada's right and privilege to legislate with a single eye to Canadian interests [Mr. Willison wrote a considerable time before the failure of the reciprocity negotiations]. It is likewise its right and privilege to establish a preferential trading relationship with Great Britain. It would be unwise and ungenerous to discriminate against the United States for the advantage of any foreign country or to endeavor to effect estrangement between Great Britain and the Republic. It is plain to all the world that Great Britain desires a good understanding with Washington. In a common speech and a common faith there should be the seeds of good neighbourhood and out of a common devotion to the higher ends of civilisation should come mutual sympathy and co-operation. In the ancient monarchy of Britain there is no menace to free institutions and no bar to co-operation between Washington and Westminster.

Natural guardians of constitutional freedom, natural allies in social and political reform, natural co-workers for the moral elevation of the race, estrangement between these countries is unnatural and unchristian; a war between these countries would be a crime against civilisation. Hence these two great English-speaking nations should agree to submit all cases of dispute and misunderstanding to an arbitration tribunal and should empower the responsible ministers of each country to seek judgment from this tribunal independent of congressional or parliamentary initiative and authority. Preparatory to the creation of this tribunal there should be a comprehensive adjustment of all outstanding differences between the two countries.

The satisfactory adjustment of the Newfoundland Fisheries case was a response to the feeling in the two nations that the time had arrived for settling outstand-

ing disputes. Mr. Willison's article was written as early as 1908 so that it can be seen that Canada is neglecting no opportunity to champion arbitration. W. L. Smith, editor of the Toronto *Weekly Sun*, John Lewis, editor of the Toronto *Star*, Mr. MacKay, of the Toronto *Globe*, and Mr. Dougal, editor of the Montreal *Witness*, are others among Canadian journalists who are indefatigable in the cause of American-Canadian fraternity.

Dr. James A. Macdonald, the editor of the Toronto *Globe* is to-day the leading writer and speaker upon the subject of arbitration within the Dominion. Dr. Macdonald, besides, carries his peace activity into many byways where the press is only incidental as a factor. In the pulpit as on the lecture platform or when writing on international affairs this representative Canadian publicist brings with him a conviction that carries home.

In the special peace number issued by the *Editorial Review*, Dr. Macdonald said:

> One of the most potent factors in the peace movement is the triple moral alliance between Canada, the United States, and Great Britain, representing the three branches of the all-conquering Anglo-Saxon peoples. A hundred years ago there were distrust and discrimination and bitterness between the mother country and this daughter Republic. To-day men talk seriously, confidently, hopefully of the Anglo-American Alliance. It was not acts of Parliament nor the artful dickerings of diplomatists that made possible this Anglo-Saxon fraternity. Considerations of trade or of party politics will not hold it together. Trade is often selfish, and in its blindness it offends against international good feeling. Political exigencies at home often constrain party leaders to play fast and loose with the

country's interests abroad. But deeper than trade, more potent than legislation, is the common consciousness of the nations, that corporate sense of the common people, out of which public opinion springs. In Britain and in America, during the past decade, that consciousness has grown from being local and national to be frankly international with the broader touch of the world-sense. We are all born into a national consciousness, British, American, or Canadian. Now there comes to us a sense of international atmosphere and environment. Out of that defence of internationalism grows the spirit of fraternity, which is the real and enduring bond between these two Anglo-Saxon nations.

Dwelling upon Canada's contribution to this entente, Dr. Macdonald pointed out how the Dominion chooses to be a free, self-governing nation within the British empire and a friendly neighbour of the United States. The four thousand miles of a uniting boundary line, he said, were Canada's pledge of good faith. Canada's part is that of peace-keeper.

The military-mad who talk of arsenals and fortifications on the Great Lakes we mock and laugh out of court [Dr. Macdonald said in conclusion]. We repudiate as a guilty fallacy the notion that in peace we should prepare for war. Canada's maxim is: In peace prepare for more peace. This century of peace along the international boundary is the pledge and the prelude of an enduring peace more vital, more helpful, more beneficial to both nations and to the world than as yet has been dreamed. We do not believe in war. No war in history between civilised nations ever settled any question in dispute. The present year records an international arbitration at The Hague, which fixes for all time arbitration and not war as the instrument for settling all disputes between Anglo-Saxon nations. Had the militarists and jingoes been given their way the fisheries

question would still be unsettled, and over it, Britain, the United States, Canada, and Newfoundland would have spent millions of money, poured out precious human blood, and sowed thick the dragon teeth of estrangement and hate.

Ignorance, prejudice, and the falsification of history are the fruitful sources of international conflict. Canada has never been guilty of the stupid and wicked blunder of falsifying the facts of history for the children in her schools. When the public schools are delivered from the curse of lip-loyalty and from the blight of a false patriotism, hatred of other nations will die and the spirit of war will not be born.

The principal speaker before the Association of Life Insurance Presidents, at a banquet in New York, December 14, 1911, Dr. Macdonald here took occasion to point out the advantages of general arbitration to the business world. It requires something out of the ordinary to stir the chief executives of the great insurance concerns but this is what the Toronto editor accomplished on the evening in question.

That war or peace depended upon the say so of the world's money powers and not the nations themselves was one declaration made by the Canadian champion of international harmony. He said that in the council of the nations money speaks with final authority. Dr. Macdonald made plain that no large vested interests were more concerned in the issue of the arbitration treaties than the insurance companies and he pointed out how even the mere intimation of war forced the price of securities downward. He instances the Venezuela war scare, said to have meant a loss of more than two billion dollars. It was not the German chancellor nor Sir Edward Grey nor Lloyd-George who prevented a conflict over Morocco, and therefore, the speaker de-

clared, it was evident as anything under the sun that the House of Finance refused to sanction war. General arbitration treaties, he said, would remove a temptation that otherwise might not always be resisted.

When in Europe during the summer of 1911, Dr. Macdonald brought the greetings of President Taft to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland to which he was a delegate from the Church of Canada. Doubly significant was the message of the American Chief Executive in that it came from the foremost advocate of the cause in the United States and was presented by the leading champion of arbitration in the Dominion. Many and enthusiastic had been the meetings in Great Britain during the summer in advocacy of the general arbitration treaties and, as it concerned the two great Presbyterian churches of Scotland, there had been a unanimous sentiment in favour of the pact. Especially gratifying, therefore, was the message entrusted to Dr. Macdonald. When he delivered it to the General Assembly he laid emphasis on the President's words where he said that

> no desire in my life is more sincere or more resolute than that the two great sections of the English-speaking race should join in a treaty of unrestricted and unlimited arbitration which would make war forever impossible, and put even the thought of war forever out of the question.

While in London, Dr. Macdonald gave a lecture at the Criterion restaurant at a meeting of the Society of American Women in London. Speaking of the sudden and great progress which the idea of peace had made in the Western world, the Canadian journalist said he included both nations along the northern frontier in his

statement that a supreme moment had arrived in the destiny of the United States and the Dominion.

The place that the Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King, Deputy Minister for Ottawa, occupies in the domain of internationalism is one that bears upon both industrial and international peace. Undoubtedly he was one of the first to suggest the celebration of one hundred years of peace, which he did at the Harvard commencement in 1908. Mr. Mackenzie King has been very successful as an arbiter of labour disputes and he is the author of the *Industrial Disputes' Investigation Act* which is considered by President Eliot as the best kind of labour legislation known to the world.

At the head of a propaganda to interest the Dominion in the coming celebration Mr. Mackenzie King is giving considerable of his time to the project to have Canada and the United States co-operate to make the event of world significance.

Soon after the movement for the celebration of the centenary of peace had obtained a start in the United States, the English people signified their intention to participate to the fullest extent. At the close of the year a meeting was held under the direction of the Parliamentary Arbitration Committee and organisation was perfected for celebrating the event by choosing Earl Grey, ex-Governor of Canada, president, while Baron Shaw, of Dunfermline, was selected as chairman of the executive committee which comprises government officials, church dignitaries, and educators. The leading English statesmen are supporting the movement for a celebration that shall be epochal.

At the Brooklyn Academy of Music on the evening of November 17, 1911, the British Ambassador at Washington delivered an address before the Brooklyn

Institute of Arts and Sciences in which the Honourable James Bryce dwelt upon the significance of the arbitration treaty and the present unity existing between the people of the two nations. On innumerable occasions Ambassador Bryce has shown himself most ready to foster this international friendship. In his Brooklyn address he explained how the United States and Great Britain had worked side by side for peace. He reviewed the historic incidents that began with the signing of the treaty of Ghent and that will culminate when the English-speaking peoples celebrate that great event.

That Great Britain's representative at Washington hailed the visit of the Duke of Connaught to the United States with undistinguished delight may be taken for granted. The presence of the Governor-General of Canada in this country, his visit with the President, his democratic mingling with the members of the National Press Club in Washington, the social attention shown the uncle of King George, went a good way to prove that the Duke of Connaught will cement the friendship between the Dominion and the Republic closer than ever. It need not be said that the Governor General will work with all his power for such participation in the coming celebration as will be a credit to his nation. On his departure for Ottawa he declared that he was full of admiration for this country and that he wished to say "that whatever political changes may take place in Canada the sentiment of the Canadian people is now and will always be one of friendliness toward the United States."

There is not the slightest doubt that the visit of the Duke of Connaught was in the nature of a peace mission in that it meant that the best of feelings should

be maintained for ever between the neighbouring countries. That Ambassador Bryce proved himself so active in all that concerned the Governor-General, while the latter was in this country, is an illustration of the usefulness of Great Britain's representative. It may be expected that henceforth Canadian co-operation as regard unlimited arbitration will be even more pronounced, and it is certain that the publicity given the royal visitor here will only be mutually advantageous to the peoples. Americans evinced more than passing interest in the advent of the Duke of Connaught and his family, and the newspapers reflected the appreciation of the nation in the premises. Between Ottawa and Washington there has been created an international bond that may go far toward strengthening the public's knowledge of what the general arbitration treaty expects to accomplish, not only for the nations immediately concerned but for the world. And it is significant that a number of the English newspapers express the hope that King George will see his way to visiting the United States in 1915 during the peace centenary celebration.

CHAPTER XXVII

HOW THE NEWSPAPERS ARE HELPING

What Leading Editors are Doing for International Arbitration—Not Always Easy to Champion Universal Peace—Conditions Vastly Improved over What Prevailed Some Years Ago—The Evening *Post* and Rollo Ogden—The Arbitration Campaign of the New York *World*—Joseph Pulitzer as a Factor in International Affairs—His Service in the Venezuela Imbroglio—His Gift to Columbia University for the Establishment of a School of Journalism—Norman Angell on Publicity for International Happenings—The Scope of a Newspaper to Deal Disinterestedly with World Affairs—The Plan of Theodore Stanton—Professor Ferrero on the Masses as War Agitators—The Hearst Newspapers and their Influence.

IT rests largely with the press of the world whether nations shall continue to look upon the battle-field as the arbiter of their destiny, or whether international arbitration—international unlimited arbitration—shall be the recourse. The issue of war or peace lie with the masses, the great public that reads and thinks. Will journalism become a factor for the judicial settlement of international disputes? Will the great newspapers of Europe and America combine to bring about what no other agency can possibly do as well?

The question is easy to ask; not quite so easy to answer. That there has been a tremendous awakening to the menace that threatens a state through publicity of the wrong kind is a fact that is indisputable. It remains for the great publications that make their

appeals to millions to lead the way for the right kind of publicity.

Baron d'Estournelles found the American press his chief ally while this interesting Frenchman made his epochal tour of the States. Himself a picturesque personality, he gave the papers "copy" no less interesting. He has all the qualifications that bespeak the platform orator; the man ready to be interviewed and who has something to say. His own publicity agent, he knew what was wanted to make his campaign talked about.

As for the influence of the press of the United States, it was at one of the Lake Mohonk Conferences that the late Dr. Alfred C. Lamdin, editor of the Philadelphia *Ledger*, told what was the mission of the newspaper in the movement for universal peace. Said Dr. Lamdin:

In one respect, at least, the attitude of the newspaper editor toward the peace movement does differ from that of its more active promoters, in that he is, by nature of his calling, compelled to take some sort of cognisance of an infinite number and variety of movements, of currents and countercurrents of thought and opinion and policy, which he may value or abhor, but which he must nevertheless estimate and record—while the lawyer or the professor is under no compulsion to concern himself about anything that does not interest him, and is at liberty to throw his whole energy into the special cause that appeals to him and to ignore the rest. It is by such concentrated energy that results are achieved, such results as this Lake Mohonk Conference has powerfully promoted, even though the daily newspapers have done no more than record them and perhaps have done not even that with all the active sympathy they deserve.

In one of the reports of the Conference I read a quotation

from John Hay to the effect that if the entire press of the world would highly resolve that war should be no more, war would cease. I do not know in what connection John Hay said this. As a newspaper man himself, he must have known that it was mere rhetoric. It means no more than if all the world were of one mind and determined never to fight there would be no more fighting. But there is something in the thought of a newspaper solidarity overcoming national limitations, and this is really one of the most interesting developments in my profession to-day; running quite parallel with those closer relations in commerce, in international law and in diplomacy, of which we have heard much that is inspiring at this conference.

Dr. Lamdin was of that company of journalists which is an honour to the profession. His analytical mind saw in the peace movement one of those specific means to a worthy end that entails unmeasured labour before final accomplishment. For many years his utterances had commanded attention, and the culture that based Dr. Lamdin's newspaper activity was until the editor's death a cardinal point in his intellectual equipment. He had many of the qualities that make of Colonel Henry Watterson a foremost journalist. Less dramatic, yet Dr. Lamdin since the first day when he became interested in the peace movement aided the cause materially.

In the case of Colonel Watterson, it has already been shown how the valiant Kentucky editor has thrown himself into the arbitration rink with all that energy and insistence that characterised him. No better man could have been chosen to impress the southland with the need for peace. In New York, no more so than in Georgia, in Philadelphia, to no greater extent than in Virginia, Colonel Watterson left the impression on the

minds of the citizens that he had entered upon his present mission because it was the one great issue before the American people of to-day, and because he wished to do all in his power toward the ratification of the treaties with England and France.

The conspicuous place that the New York *Evening Post* occupies anent the peace movement, what with the many supporting editorials and the ample space provided in the news columns, is no doubt traceable to the fact that Rollo Ogden, the editor-in-chief has a penchant in that direction. It was at one of the recent Lake Mohonk conferences, at the session devoted to the press and its influence for war or peace, that Mr. Ogden delivered a poignant address on the subject.

Mr. Ogden said that he was not unmindful that much of the discussion during the conference would imply that the press had been at times remiss in its duty as a peace advocate. He admitted that there were numerous faults; but likewise, he said, there were extenuating circumstances.

> We must confess, if we are honest [he said], that the freedom of the press has not in all particulars worked out as its early champions hoped. It was expected to bind nations together. Too often, unfortunately, it has helped to set nations against each other. The press, when free and cheap and universal, was expected to represent reason and humanity in its treatment of international relations; but not seldom, I am sorry to say, it has made itself the instigator and vehicle of international hatred. Now, I am here to say that when that work is done deliberately, no expression of abhorrence or loathing for it can be too severe. I know of no rôle less worthy of a man, and more fitting a fiend, than that of a newspaper which sets itself to provoke hostility and to precipitate war between nations that ought to live together in peace.

Now having spoken plainly, of misguided newspapers, I go on to say that, after all, a great deal of the inflammatory course of the newspaper in the discussion of foreign relations does not spring from pure malice. It arises partly from a perverted conception of what the function of a newspaper ought to be, and it arises also from false standards of what is interesting and what is important. And those false standards, I beg you to notice, are shared as much by the readers as by the conductors of a newspaper.

Mr. Ogden remarked that very often a newspaper may be clean and dignified otherwise, and yet it could prove a thorn in the side of international conciliation. He cited the case of one of the greatest English journals which, he said,

was probably the greatest single influence in bringing the English people to embark upon the Crimean War, as Kinglake showed in a brilliant chapter of his *Invasion of the Crimea*.

It was the continual insistence of this paper [Mr. Ogden said], the great representative English newspaper, the great organ of the middle classes of English opinion, that the safety of England never could be secured until the Russian power on the Black Sea was broken, which finally, in spite of protests and appeals of John Bright and Gladstone, and even of the prime minister himself, Lord Aberdeen, plunged England into that miserable and needless war. I say needless war, because forty years later Lord Salisbury himself stood up in the House of Lords and said it was all a mistake, and that England in that bloody and costly and direful war put her money on the wrong horse!

We need a change of emphasis, not only in the conductors of newspapers, but in those who purchase them, a charge of emphasis and a new test as to what is important, what ought to be magnified and what ought to be made the basis of appeal and presentation. We need a new standard of what

is thrilling, what is exciting, and what is glorious. Why, the Emperor Napoleon himself, who, if any man ever did, tore out the heart of military glory for himself, felt vaguely in his time that France was too much carried away with the military obsession. He made the suggestion, and I do not know if it was ever carried out, but it was a fruitful suggestion, that there ought to be "espions de la vertu," individuals in search of goodness, reporters sent out to run down acts of peace, journalists seeking for the exclusive news about the triumphs and achievements of peace. Now something of that sort is coming to-day. We have our glorification of the heroes of peace, and we ought to have more, and will have more. But the thing to aim at is such a change of mental habit, such a change of general temper, as will create a new atmosphere about the journalist, and will bring to bear upon him a new popular demand to which he cannot fail to respond.

It is only a few years since Mr. Ogden made his address but the editor-in-chief of the New York *Evening Post* must confess that a remarkable change has come over American journalism in respect to arbitration. President Taft's proposal to the two great powers across the ocean loomed before the journalistic vision as something worth while. It was not only a big thing that the American government had in mind, but a most picturesque proposition. Imagine, the papers would exclaim, three powers among whom war would be banished! To some the thing seemed unbelievable; to others it was utopian. Yet almost every newspaper in the land came out strongly for the treaties.

The New York *World* can be singled out as an example of metropolitan journalism which, while not with President Taft politically, stands shoulder to shoulder with the chief executive in his aim to bring about universal peace among the nations. The late

Joseph Pulitzer was a very champion of international peace. Incapacitated as the great editor was for years, yet his mind's eye saw beyond the limits of the present a state of affairs when there would be no more wars. During the most recent events touching the treaty negotiations and their anticipated ratification in the Senate there was seldom a day when *The World* did not have its ringing peace editorial.

On the first day of January, of the present year, *The World*, contained an editorial which by itself marks a new epoch in international journalism. The manifesto, for it was nothing less than this, read as follows:

MAKE IT ARBITRATION YEAR!

No ruler in the world had made so noble an ending of the old year as the citizen President of the United States with his speech at the dinner in this city on international arbitration and peace. The American nation cannot make a better beginning of the new year than in acquainting itself with that address and rallying to the support of the President in this cause.

Mr. Taft never appeared to better advantage. His speech was weighted with argument, lightened with humour, and pointed with homely illustration. The "unctuous and odious hypocrisy" which has been attributed to his cause was thrown back with a force that every intelligence can understand and every humane heart must feel.

The pending treaties were considered as a mere beginning in a great world-movement. The term "justiciable" is not vague. It comprehends all causes which can be settled by the rules of law and equity, and such questions as the Monroe Doctrine are not of them. The Senate is not asked to abrogate any of its powers. If it can make a treaty to decide future questions as they arise, it can refer those questions to arbitration when they do arise. If it is

objected that bad judges may get into the arbitrations, then it must be objected that all courts of justice should be ruled out, as bad Judges may get into them.

And the cause? Are the people of the nations in a ferment of discontent? Are they burdened with dead charges and charges to make more dead? Are they resentful of injustice in industry and wealth distributions? All means of correction will fail if every generation must continue to have its devastating war.

The mission in which President Taft would make this Nation a leader is the greatest ever presented in practical and concrete form for the betterment of the world; and the letters read at the peace dinner from Democratic Governors, jurists, and legislators show that while his support may lack individuals in either party it will command the thoughtful majority of all parties. The year 1912 will be a great one in the human calendar if it shall mark the beginnings of international arbitration in the ratification of the pending treaties.

On August 3, 1911, on the day when the arbitration treaties with Great Britain and France were being signed in the East Room of the White House in Washington, *The World* devoted its editorial page to the great issue of the day. Joseph Pulitzer was still an active force in American journalism, although not many months later he passed away. *The World* said that

this, therefore, is a memorable day in the history of the three nations. To *The World* it brings the welcome fruit of ceaseless agitation for more than a quarter of a century to the end that wanton slaughter and destruction shall no longer be invoked in the settlement of international disputes.

On June 5, 1896, on the occasion of the presentation to Joseph Pulitzer by representatives of peace and arbitration societies in the United Kingdom, and by

other American and British persons of note, of an address of thanks for his efforts during the Venezuela crisis in behalf of good feeling between Great Britain and the United States, the owner of *The World* delivered in response an address, "The Reign of Reason vs. The Reign of Force." The event took place at Moray Lodge, London. On August 3, 1911, *The World* republished Mr. Pulitzer's address. It is a striking document replete with facts that are as applicable to-day as in 1896: the noted editor showed how all America constitutes an arbitration society. It is true that much took place since the days when the Venezuelan difficulty threatened war. The United States and Spain clashed arms; a situation, as has been averred by even exceptionally patriotic Americans, which might have been avoided. However, Mr. Pulitzer's sentiments have never changed in respect to arbitration and until his death he remained the stanchest journalist in the service of internationalism.

As pictures sometimes are even more effective than words, so *The World* cartoons by Charles R. Macauley have proved a powerful factor for bringing home arbitration to the many readers of this metropolitan newspaper. Mr. Macauley on August 3d chose for his subject the signing of the treaties, with John Bull and La Belle France, one on each side of Uncle Sam, entering a building made conspicuous by the inscription, "Dedicated to Peace,—Universal—Perpetual." As few American cartoonists, this noted artist has caught the underlying spirit of universal peace. To him there is no incongruity in peace being agitated on every side while some of the nations are at war. Mr. Macauley is, besides, of the school that knows how to employ the satirical stroke when needed.

That Joseph Pulitzer should have left more than one million dollars to Columbia University for the founding of a school of journalism may not indicate that the late owner of *The World* had centred his vision upon international possibilities when he made his will. But it is an indisputable fact that, while he achieved considerable as a journalist, he also felt that there was much more to be accomplished. It is certainly significant that to the president of Columbia University and others designated for the purpose, Mr. Pulitzer should have left the execution of his plans for such a school as specified. President Butler, as is known, is not only among the most ardent arbitration advocates, but in the estimation of Mr. Pulitzer, ranks foremost as executive.

The School of Journalism was first suggested to the then president of Columbia University in 1892, and refused. The offer was renewed in 1903 and accepted by President Butler. Afterwards, difficulties arose as to the proper policy, and while Mr. Pulitzer and the president of Columbia remained fast friends until the former's death, and many conferences were held to accelerate the work, nothing was accomplished. Now, however, the school of journalism is established in accordance with specifications contained in Mr. Pulitzer's will. Dr. Talcott Williams, editor of the Philadelphia *Press* is the chief editor.

It is not hard to see how powerful a factor such a school may in time become in furtherance of the international arbitration idea. The broad policy that is bound to prevail will in itself make internationalism the all-embracing idea. American journalism may yet reach the point where the news policy can fit in exactly with the editorial. It will not do to engender distrust and stir up antagonism between nations, and

many editors are more and more realizing this fact.

Norman Angell, the author of *The Great Illusion*, in his world-famed book on the foolishness of war, not long ago told the London *Daily Chronicle* some poignant things relative to the press and peace. Apparently the author of the most talked-about peace book believes in advertising. Publicity, even if it cost money, should be secured, he said.

We want not thousands and tens of thousands to feel that war is horrid and immoral [said Mr. Angell to the *Daily Chronicle* representative], but the overwhelming millions of Europe to perceive as clearly as daylight that war is the most stupendous folly any modern nation can commit. We want them to see that the trade of the world cannot be interrupted by pirates or filibusters without immeasurable inconvenience to every nation. When the millions really perceive that truth, then, and unfortunately, not till then, may be devoted some of the money used for war-like preparations to the scientific business of improving humanity.

To get the false economic ideas of the past out of modern heads [Mr. Angell continued], we should continually aim to introduce true and sound ones. And I think that peace propagandists might well take a lesson from the advertiser. They should adopt the methods of the astute manufacturer, and set about making the facts of peace as familiar to mankind. If the world has to be advertised into buying what it wants, be sure it must be advertised into thinking as it does not think.

The newspapers of Europe should be continually putting the economic truth before the working world. Imagine the effect on the German public, say, if every newspaper in Germany, through advertising pages if need be, had been asking insistently: What will you get out of successful war?

What will it cost? Would it not have made the man on the bus, the man in the train, the peasant in the market place, talk about this new idea—the idea that war does not pay, whether you win or lose? What a subject for argument!

Remember, it is a brand new idea, a revolutionary idea to millions of men. And let those millions realise it. Let them once see that the burden which they carry on their backs, the double burden of soldier and sailor, both of them increasing in weight, is the idea of an outworn statecraft, the mere superstition of a vanished diplomacy; and then it will not be many years before the armies and navies of Europe are reduced to a polite police.

To advertise, then, the peace movement; in Europe, as well as in America! Fortunately, the leading journals in the Western world already offer their columns to the cause of arbitration without price or favour. Baron d'Estournelles de Constant has reason to feel assured that what the American newspapers did to help him in his campaign will be repeated as frequently as circumstances require. He has said that he will come again. He may count upon a reception no less cordial than that which greeted him during his three months' tour in the early part of 1911. The United States can never have too many friends abroad while the peace movement continues to make its appeal to nation after nation.

With the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace preparing many programmes for the carrying out of the idea of the founder, it is an interesting speculation as to the exact publicity campaign to be entered upon by those encharged with this duty. It is known that Mr. Carnegie has certain ideas not yet worked out, but whether a great international newspaper is included among the propositions is not clearly established.

From Paris came the news that such a journal is among the possibilities. The New York *Evening Telegram* published the following:

Plans for the publication of an international newspaper, the object of which is to cause the extinction of war, are to-day being quickly carried forward under the direction of Andrew Carnegie. Editors from many countries are busily at work, aided by a group of diplomats, in the perfection of the plans and hope to have the paper started in the near future.

In starting this venture, Mr. Carnegie has shown the realisation of the fact that his greatest power for the prevention of war will be exercised through a well-organised newspaper. Using the press for his weapon, he will be able to disclose all schemes calculated to ferment trouble between nations, and can circumvent the secret plots of nations by publicly exposing them to the world's gaze.

Something more definite in the line of a great international newspaper comes from Theodore Stanton, son of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who, according to the *Advocate of Peace*, came to the United States during 1911,

arranging the American part of an international newspaper, which he is founding. It will be a first-class paper, printed in French, and in part in other languages. It will deal only with international questions. It will have able correspondents in the capitals of the world. It will be the unofficial organ of the various existing international courts, bureaus, commissions, etc. It is a difficult enterprise which Mr. Stanton has undertaken, but we wish him success. Such a journal, if made strong and efficient, would prove a powerful instrument of international good understanding and harmony.

Upon his arrival in New York, Mr. Stanton, in an interview with the New York *Sun* representative, told what those associated with him in the international newspaper enterprise expected to accomplish with such an organ.

The foreign news department of the paper will be in charge of Ferdinand Leipnik, city editor of the *Pester Lloyd*, published in Budapest [he said]. Of course, that will be an important department. At the present time the big newspapers are national newspapers in that they deal with the affairs of their own country principally. But the news in our paper will be international, dealing with all important questions in a comprehensive manner.

For a long time, certain men in Europe have had under consideration the advisability of starting an international daily newspaper. These men believed there was a field for it, but it was necessary to find out how the proposition would be received in the capitals and large cities of the world. For the purpose of learning the attitude of officialdom and men connected with affairs in these centres of activity I was selected to make a journey to every capital in Europe. I have just finished the trip, which took three months, and I am convinced that such a newspaper has a place in the scheme of things.

Professor Guglielmo Ferrero, the noted Italian historian, has told in the Paris *Figaro*, that where formerly those in power and authority were the provokers of international warfare, it is now the masses that are becoming bellicose. He cites the German Emperor as a case in point.

Twenty-three years have passed [says Professor Ferrero], yet the Emperor of Germany has not only not waged the war or wars which would have satisfied such ambitions, [referring to the supposed militancy of William II before

coming to the throne], but he is to-day more or less openly accused by his people of being too pacific. "History will admit some day that Europe has on several occasions owed peace to me" he declared once to a learned foreigner.

But a portion of the public opinion in his native land makes of this a basis for reproach rather than praise, as has been shown by M. Moysset in his excellent study on *Public Opinion in Germany*. In other days the opposition parties ceaselessly denounced in the parliaments of Europe the belligerent intentions evinced by governments. A few weeks ago we saw the opposition party in the Imperial Government severely reproach the government for its constant care that peace should not be troubled, just as if such a course was a weakness.

In Italy we come across the same phenomenon in another form. It is an open secret to everybody that the government hesitated a long time before declaring war on Turkey. It if had been able to control completely the march of events, the conquest of Tripoli would probably have been postponed once more to some other occasion. Reasons for such delay were not lacking and they were such as to appear sufficient in the eyes of a government desirous of maintaining peace. But public opinion would not allow it. It was the nation which forced the government's hand. A wave of war-like enthusiasm suddenly swept over the country. Even the chief advocates of peace were suddenly transformed into apostles of war, and the government was forced to take cognisance of this great manifestation of opinion.

In respect to Professor Ferrero's deductions that it is the public which declares war and not the governments, it is clear that the missionary work of newspapers with large circulations can be of immense value. Take the Hearst papers as an illustration. In New York, in Chicago, in Boston, in San Francisco, in Los Angeles,

in Atlanta, in each of these cities William Randolph Hearst has it in his power to become a great champion of international peace. Already his publications give striking evidence that a new agency has entered the field of world conciliation. Take for instance, the Sunday issue of December 10, 1911. On that day the Hearst papers of the cities mentioned contained a remarkable article that filled the front page of the editorial section. The title was "The Billions Wasted Preparing for War." There was also a cartoon showing Uncle Sam as he

ploughs the sea with a navy costing hundreds of thousands of millions as the years go by. He fills his forts with an army representing, since our government was established, billions upon billions of wasted money. How long will human beings spend in butchery money, intelligence, and wealth that would give comfort to the people?

Such was the wording under the Hearst cartoon. As for the editorial itself, it said in part:

It is the duty of every citizen, and of every newspaper especially, to spread the doctrine of peace and make clear the horror and stupidity of war. There is no longer need of it—for the savage peoples, whom reason could not reach, are no longer a menace to the educated races.

The important thing is that the horror and needlessness of war should be appreciated and agitated by those that have influence. Our public schools should do less to encourage blind worship of military heroes and more to make children detest war. Every child from the beginning should be taught to despise brutality, made to understand that war is as brutal and needless as the old instruments of torture, as out of date as human slavery, and no better than murder. Newspapers, and especially the smaller

newspapers throughout the country, are the agencies that should turn the people against war in every land. Everything is done by public opinion and public sentiment. While every child is taught to know and revere the directors of wholesale murders, such as Alexander, Cæsar, and Napoleon, and few are taught the greatness of the heroes of peace, there will remain the brutal admiration for battle and bloodshed.

Fathers and mothers, school teachers, clergymen, and the press working in the different countries that call themselves civilised could end war absolutely within ten years—releasing for useful work the millions of men and the billions of money now wasted in preparing for the international slaughter that no nation wants and that every nation fears.

Again, on Sunday, March 3, 1912, the Hearst newspapers fired another broadside at war and all its horrors. "This Old Giant Should Be Put to Work—and Finally Abolished" was the heading of a large cartoon showing a warrior lying stretched at full length across the broad acres of the land while fire raged around him in all its fury. An entire page was taken up with the subject of the menace of war. The article was a masterful exposition based on reason.

All this may be good enough, comes the argument in certain quarters, but how can such editorial comment on the horrors of war become reconciled with other expressions, which in the news columns of the daily press, are sometimes less pacificatory and more likely to foment trouble between nations? The point may have its merit, except insofar as it reveals unfamiliarity with the history of newspaper making. But even in the news columns of the leading dailies there is evident more and more a desire to refrain from saying anything that will upset the international balance.

And with the editorial policy committed to international harmony, the situation is promising throughout.

International in its scope, *The Christian Science Monitor*, published in Boston, has entered upon a methodical peace campaign, which has had far reaching effect. Immediately when Count Apponyi reached this country a systematic work was begun in the interest of the societies working for international peace. When Baron d'Estournelles entered upon his tour the scope was broadened. In every city visited by the French Nobel Prize winner, *The Christian Science Monitor* discussed the work that had been going on in that particular locality. Baron d'Estournelles announced that nowhere had he seen such journalistic co-operation in the matter of arbitration as furnished by this newspaper which has its correspondents in every part of the world. With New England the birth place of the peace movement in its broader sense, the Springfield (Mass.) *Republican*, must also be set down as a newspaper of that territory which has pursued a persistent policy of opposition to war.

It is no doubt understood by the reader that while here and there certain publications have been singled out as conspicuous in the campaign for improved international relations, the omissions in the premises are such as must recur where the field is so great as is that of American journalism. Baron d'Estournelles found the press everywhere more than willing to co-operate. Interviews with representatives of the newspapers in the various cities visited by him; complete reports of meetings and speeches; picturesque description of incidents tending to arouse the public's interest, all testified to the novelty of the occasion which the papers were not slow to turn to their advantage.

All in all, these last few years proved epochal in the history of the peace movement in America. Press and pulpit, financiers and workingmen, educators and students, men and women in every walk of life rose to one of the most picturesque situations that has presented itself before any nation since arbitration history began. In that leadership which brought President Taft before the world as the first ruler to announce in favour of unlimited arbitration, there was vested a mission which found the nation ready to co-operate with the government. The munificence of a Carnegie, of course, will aid greatly in facilitating the propaganda. But after all, it is the masses that make for lasting peace. Give but the American people to understand that theirs is the deciding voice in any issue, and seldom there is reason to find fault with the national judgment. Where the country has become great through liberalising agencies in all other directions, is there any reason to doubt that it will find it to its advantage to maintain an unbroken friendship with other nations?

It is, of course, a fact that from now on all efforts of arbitration workers everywhere will centre on such preparations as shall make the Third Hague Conference as much in advance of the second gathering as the second conference was superior to the first. Individual peace work, the labours of organisations, the governmental activity, all aim in the identical direction—international amity. When the leading nations of the earth again meet in the Dutch city, where the great Peace Palace will stand in its completed splendour to receive the delegates, arbitration will get a hearing such as the world has never before witnessed. Much will be expected of the United States and the nation will not be a laggard in the race for greater unity. Political

differences, far from proving detrimental to the cause, find their own level on a platform where the entire country is concerned. Nothing illustrates better the national aspect of the arbitration movement than President Taft's declaration, while in Lincoln, Nebraska, during his tour of the country, that he first heard from William Jennings Bryan the scheme of appointing a commission to make a preliminary investigation prior to the actual submission of the question to a board of arbitration, with the further proviso that this investigation should continue for a year, thus giving both nations a chance to calm down before the final issue was reached.

The Interparliamentary Union has a great work before it. The American group should have the satisfaction of knowing that in every respect the United States Government will stand ready to assist when the next Hague Conference takes place. The acclaimed leadership of the United States in the direction of unlimited arbitration will find a strengthening support in the co-operation of Canadian parliamentarians and the republics of South and Central America. It will be a Pan-American representation which will bring the message of the new world to the nations across the ocean, and then, when the Hague Conference establishes new regulations, when the delegates depart for home conscious of good work well done, then the American peace organisations will find their reward. It may seem a good while from the days of Erasmus to the later period; from the time when Hugo Grotius was imprisoned for writing his *The Rights of War and Peace*, in 1625, to the present with its free speech and greater brotherhood. All down the years there have been struggles unbelievable to make the nations realise

the futility of making war. But time is as nothing when a great principle is involved. The goal is almost within reach, and with the dawn of world-peace will come a new light whose rays will extend everywhere, bringing contentment and prosperity where as yet the international message is still far from being fully discerned.

In the new day at hand mankind will reveal itself a unit in thought and action. And as the doors to the Peace Temple at The Hague will remain ever open to permit the nations to enter freely for the discussion and settlement of international questions as these may arise from time to time, so the gates to the Temple of Janus will swing to, little by little, until they shall go shut, to remain so forever. Then will it be recalled that it was the work in America during recent years which advanced the peace movement to a place where it could be safely said that world-arbitration had at last been planted as on a rock.

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